

Thematic Assessment

Women and Peace-Building

Central Sulawesi and North Maluku

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This independent assessment was conducted by Endah Trista Agustiana (Central Sulawesi) and Maria Pakpahan (North Maluku) and does not necessarily reflect the views of UNDP or BAPPENAS.

Preface

The Crisis Prevention and Recovery Unit (CPRU) of the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) Indonesia has been working in North Maluku and Maluku over the last three years with a focus on multi-sectoral recovery initiatives to complement the efforts of the Government of Indonesia to support post-conflict recovery, long-term peace building and sustainable development. UNDP is also developing a three-year programme in Central Sulawesi aimed at supporting the peace process, providing short-term responses to vulnerable communities and working with local government and civil society in the design of the future programme. In all three provinces, UNDP works with provincial and district level partners including Government, UN agencies, international NGOs and civil society organizations.

In 2004, the CPRU commenced a planning process in cooperation with the National Planning and Development Board (BAPPENAS) to identify the key longer-term challenges and opportunities for crisis prevention and sustainable peace in Indonesia's troubled regions. The outcomes of these processes will lead to programme priorities for the next phase of programming in the provinces, as well as a revised strategy and priorities for the Crisis Prevention and Recovery Programme as a whole. These regional analyses have focused on three provinces – North Maluku, Maluku and Central Sulawesi – provinces where CPRU/UNDP has supported programmes since 2001. Each provincial analysis has consisted of three components, specifically (i) a provincial multi-stakeholder workshop, (ii) research consisting of a literature review, local perception surveys and case studies, and (iii) thematic assessment of key aspects of crisis prevention and peace-building that had been identified. The series of provincial level assessments commissioned by UNDP covered the following thematic issues (a) local economic development and natural resource management, (b) local democratic governance, (c) media and information, (d) social cohesion and youth, and (e) women and gender. The main conclusions of these reports are summarized in a synthesis paper, which along with all the thematic reports are available on the UNDP Indonesia website at www.undp.or.id.

This thematic assessment covers the issues of gender and the role of women in conflict and peace-building in Central Sulawesi and North Maluku. It is largely based on the report completed by Endah Trista Agustiana on this topic in Central Sulawesi with contributions from North Maluku based on the report by Maria Pakpahan. Both authors would like to thank all who assisted with this assessment and gave their time to talk with the team in Central Sulawesi and North Maluku.

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Executive Summary

This report documents the gender impacts of conflict and the role of women in peace-building in Central Sulawesi and North Maluku. In particular, it finds that the gender division of labor has changed - men are no longer exclusively perceived as the primary income earner, and women and children are also generating income for the family due to poverty and a lack of men's mobility. Women's role in the community has increased as well as their role in decision-making at the family and community levels. This has brought an increase in women's self-esteem and confidence but also an increasing work burden. Although women's political participation is still limited, it seems to be increasing, especially in the village political arena. Some women have become heads of the villages, neighborhoods and members of village councils, in part as a result of their peace activism and humanitarian work.

The assessment also makes it clear that women are not merely passive victims, but also are important agents and actors in peace building processes. Women are playing an increasingly important role in peace-building and bridging the communities in both Central Sulawesi and North Maluku. However, these roles are mostly 'invisible' as women have generally been overlooked and marginalized in the context of the formal peace-building processes in both provinces. Women's organizations and networks, especially in Poso and surrounding areas, have gradually increased. Although relatively new and few in terms of numbers, these organizations have engaged in activities ranging from promoting women's rights, advocacy and the economic empowerment of women to community organizing and helping people meet their basic needs. As newly established organizations and networks, they face several challenges in realising their potential contribution to peace.

It is proposed that external agencies provide support in six key strategic areas that address current priority needs that will help women peace activists and their organizations. These six strategic areas are: (i) women's economic empowerment, (ii) women's participation in the formal peace processes, (iii) women's capacity building, (iv) gender awareness raising, (v) women's human rights and violence against women, and (vi) gender disaggregated data.

1. Introduction

The outbreak of violent conflict in the Poso area of Central Sulawesi and North Maluku caused thousands of people to be killed and hundreds of thousands of women and men to be displaced. Many people lost their families as well as livelihoods and properties, and continue to suffer from a variety of problems as a result of these conflicts. In conflict situations, women are much more disadvantaged compared to men. Women tend to be the most vulnerable victims of various forms of violence, from domestic violence, rape, sexual harassment, to sexual torture and other types of sexual violence. They also suffer disproportionately from displacement and deprivation.

But focusing only on women as victims of conflicts ignores the fact that women play significant roles during and after the conflicts, and reinforces existing traditional gender values and practices that women are only “passive” and “subservient” in peace and politics. This has negative consequences in overlooking women’s potential as key actors in peace-building processes and activities.

Women themselves are powerful actors in conflict situations. During and after violent conflict, women play a variety of different roles to ensure their and their families survival. Women take on many different roles as community organizers, helping to distribute food, clothes, medical care and other basic needs to the disadvantaged people and as powerful advocates for peace. Some women become combatants to protect their family and community from the “enemy”.

However, women’s experiences and roles in peace-building and their contributions are often unacknowledged, undervalued and ignored. They are underrepresented and barely included in the formal political peace processes. Much of the analysis tends to focus on women as victims of conflicts rather than as actors. Aware of the different impacts of conflict on women and men and of the importance of the roles and experiences of women as actors as well as victims, UNDP has commissioned this assessment in order to gain a better understanding of these issues in Poso

and North Maluku. This is an important step in promoting and strengthening women’s roles and participation in the peace-building processes and the achievement of sustainable peace and development in Indonesia.

1.1 Objectives

The main objective of the assessment was to help UNDP gain a better understanding of the current situation regarding gender, conflict and peace-building in Poso and North Maluku. The results of this assessment will contribute to the formulation and design future UNDP programmes in support of peace and development in Central Sulawesi, North Maluku and Maluku.¹

To achieve this objective, the assessment was aimed specifically at gathering information and examining issues on:

- The impact of conflict on women and men at individual, household and community levels from a gender perspective;
- Coping mechanisms used by women and men – including an examination of gender needs in response to the impact of conflict and unstable situations in their life;
- Women’s roles and experiences of conflict, focusing on the roles and experiences of women as agents of peace, community leaders and victims of conflict and unstable situation;
- Women’s organizations and networks—both formal and informal—including their activities, strategies, capacities, problems and needs with regard to peace-building activities;
- Potential program interventions that can be implemented to improve the conditions of women and men, including how to strengthen women’s roles and participation in formal and informal peace-building processes and activities.

¹ Unfortunately, it was not possible to visit Maluku at the time this work was undertaken, so this report focuses only on Central Sulawesi (Poso) and North Maluku. The work in Central Sulawesi was undertaken by Endah Trista Agustiana, while Maria Pakpahan undertook the work in North Maluku.

1.2 Methodology and Approach

The main data collection methods for this assessment were carried out using a qualitative approach with a special emphasis on the utilization of in-depth interviews with key informants and focus group discussions (FGDs).² The amount of time spent in the field was greater in Central Sulawesi (> 2 months) than North Maluku (2 weeks), so that this report focuses mostly on Central Sulawesi.³

Central Sulawesi. The assessment was conducted from early March to mid-May 2004 and consisted of three phases. The *first phase* included (a) literature reviews related to the issues of gender, conflict and peace building, (b) meetings with stakeholders (government agencies, women peace activists, community and religious leaders) at provincial, district and sub-district levels to discuss the assessment plan and to familiarize with local communities where the assessment would be conducted, (c) initial identification of institutions, organizations and networks (formal and

² The assessment used a qualitative approach which has some important advantages and limitations. *Advantages:* Conflict involves a lot of sensitive issues that requires intimacy and trust between the researcher and participants. The openness of qualitative inquiry facilitates the researcher and participants to develop trust and explore perceptions, feelings and experiences through dialogue. The use of open-ended questions and in-depth interview with the key informants and the FGDs facilitated the researcher and participants the opportunity to be engaged in an informal, flexible and flowing conversation. It also facilitated the researcher and participant to pursue issues of particular interest that arose during the conversation and discussion. The FGDs provided the opportunity to collect information from a broad range of participants in a quick and constructive way. The group dynamics during the discussion often provided interesting and valuable information. *Limitations:* This assessment as a whole lacks quantitative data on the total population people affected by the conflict. In part this reflects the lack of official data disaggregated by gender, and as a result, the assessment is based on the experiences and opinions of a small number of the population of IDPs, returnees, peace activists and organizations. Other people or organizations might have different opinions, perspectives and experiences, so that the result of this assessment cannot be easily generalized to the whole of Poso and North Maluku.

³ This report is mostly based on the report on Central Sulawesi submitted by Endah Trista Agustiana with highlights from North Maluku added to show similarities and differences between the two provinces.

informal) who are involved in peace-building efforts and (d) identification of key informants for in-depth interviews and potential participants for the FGDs.

The *second phase* involved the in-depth interviews with key informants (peace activists, NGO/INGOs staff, CBOs, government agencies, community and religious leaders, grass-root women, IDPs and returnees, etc) at provincial, district, sub-district and village levels. Interviews were conducted either in groups or individually and were tape-recorded depending upon the willingness of the participants and the sensitivity of the topics being discussed. The key informant interviews were mainly aimed at gaining participants' values, opinions and attitude towards women's peace-building programs and were designed to cover a set range of themes including the causes and the impact of conflict, women's and men's coping strategies, women's roles and experiences of conflict, women's organizations and networks, existing program interventions and recommendations for ending and/or minimizing the impact of conflict (see Annex 1 for more details). In the *third phase*, four focus group discussions were held with a total of sixty-two participants. These FGDs were comprised of women and men peace activists, IDPs and returnees from both Moslem and Christian communities. The FGDs were aimed at exploring participants' perceptions, values, practices and attitudes concerning the impact of conflict, coping mechanisms, women's roles as peace-builders, capacity building and program interventions (see Annex 2).

The FGDs were conducted in two different locations. Three FGDs were held at Bone Sompe, a predominantly Moslem area of Poso City. The participants for these included (a) Moslem IDPs who live in the Poso City areas and were originally from six different areas (Pantango Lemba, Ronononcu, Sintuwu Lemba, Lembo Mawo, Kawua and Tentena) of Poso District, (b) Moslem and Christian peace activists from Poso City, Lage, and Tojo sub-districts, and (c) Moslem and Christian returnees from Tongko, Lage sub-district and Tangkura, in Poso Pesisir sub-district and Christian returnees from Korondoda and Buyung Taripa village of Tojo sub-district. The fourth FGD was held at *Later* ("*Lapangan Terbang*"), the largest IDP camp of Christian

communities, located in Tentena, a predominantly Christian area in Pamona Utara, Poso district. This FGD was mainly aimed at Christian IDPs, who originally came from different areas in the Poso District. A total of 18 Christian female and male IDPs participated at the FGDs at Later.

North Maluku. The assessment was undertaken over a two week period in May 2004, and had two phases. The *first phase* included a review of relevant literature, meeting with government agencies, women peace activists, community and religious leaders. In preparation, a guide set of questions was developed to help structure the in-depth interviews and FGDs. The *second phase* comprised short visits to three districts in North Maluku, namely North Halmahera (with visit to Tobelo, Galela, Kao and Malifut), West Halmahera (with visit to Jailolo, Sahu and Ibu) and South Halmahera (with visits to Labuha, Sayoan, Babang and Tomori on Bacan island). The key informant interviews were conducted with peace activists, local NGOs, INGOs, government agencies, community and religious leaders, grassroots women, elite women, IDPs and returnees. An FGD was conducted once in each sub-district and was attended by a number of women met during the field work in each area. In order to get broader, structured information in one community (North Halmahera) and to address issues at a higher level, a mini workshop was conducted. The mini workshop was attended by representatives that were elected from each FGD.

women activists and women's organizations including their own capacity-building needs in contributing to the peace-building processes. The final section focuses on the conclusions and recommendations of the assessment.

1.3 Organization of the Report

This report consists of five sections. Following this introduction, the next section describes the impacts of conflict on women and men from a gender perspective, highlighting the specific issues of the impact of conflict on gender relations and gender division of labor, education, employment, health, violence against women, political participation, security and justice. The third section explains women's experiences and roles regarding conflict and peace-building activities. The fourth section describes women's organizations and networks and their roles, strategies, and activities in the peace-building, and provides information concerning the challenges and opportunities faced by

2. Causes and Impact of Conflict: A Gender Perspective

Conflict and peace assessments emphasize the importance of analyzing the root causes of conflict, so that these may be addressed as part of an overall strategy to bring long-term peace. In Poso and to a certain extent in North Maluku, many people at the grassroots level – both women and men - were reluctant to discuss the causes of conflict, especially where this involved discussion of issues relating to religion.

Though many people, especially outsiders, believe that the conflict in Poso and surrounding areas is a religious-based conflict, many local people at the grassroots level (both Moslems and Christians) do not believe that the conflict in Poso has religion as its basis. Local people highlight the many examples of how both Moslem and Christian communities have lived together and helped each other before, during and after the conflict. For example, a Christian woman in Poso town had her house looked after by her Muslim neighbours during the conflict, who then helped her travel to Palu for the funeral of her son. Similarly, a Moslem woman from Kilo-9 told how her Christian neighbours looked after her house and land when she was displaced to Poso town.

People, however, generally do not want to talk about the tragic incidents they experienced in the past. They expressed that they would rather talk about what actions need to be taken next for a better future than talking about what happened in the past. Aware of the sensitivity of this issue and respect for people's feelings about the conflict, the assessment did not further explore issues regarding the causes of the conflicts in the Poso and surrounding areas.

Those who took part in the assessment highlighted the significant impact the conflict has had on the lives of both women and men in these areas. This section of the report therefore focuses on how the conflict in Poso and North Maluku has affected and changed the life of women and men with a focus on gender division of labor, employment, education, and health including women's reproductive health, political participation, security, justice and displacement.

2.1 Gender Division of Labor

The conflicts have had significant impact on the gender division of labor between women and men both at the household and community levels in Poso district and North Maluku. In Poso, before the conflict, women and men's roles were generally divided along traditional gender lines at both the household and community levels. Based on traditional gender roles in the family, men were regarded as the head of the household and their primary roles and responsibilities were as the "breadwinner", who is a provider of income for the household and assumes the decision-making role regarding family and community matters.

On the other hand, women's primary roles and responsibilities were around the house. They were responsible for the household chores such as providing food, cooking, cleaning, educating and taking care of the children and other family members. In addition to these tasks, women were also engaged in agricultural work and community development activities such as participating in the PKK (Family Welfare Program Movement). As agricultural producers, women's tasks included sowing, watering, weeding, harvesting, drying, storing, selling the products and other work. Women were involved in agricultural work such as coconuts, rice, cocoa and clove. Besides these main crops, women were also involved in the production of new crops such as vegetables, tomatoes, chili and corn for family consumption and income generation. In addition to agricultural work, women were also engaged in fishery, such as making fish food production both for family consumption and income earning.

Impacts of the Conflict

At the household level, the scarcity of livelihood sources and a lack of income have caused all family members - husbands, wives and children - to take part in generating income from outside the home for food and other basic needs of the family. The economic productive role is no longer perceived exclusively as the role of men. There was strong evidence that men's economic productive roles outside the

house have been reduced due to the conflicts, partly because men's mobility and access to 'public space' has been severely affected. The killings and shootings of a large number of men in public spaces such as on their cultivated land and farms during and after the escalation of the conflicts has brought fear that has limited men's mobility to carry out productive economic activities outside the home. In North Maluku, for example, some motorcycle taxi (*ojek*) drivers reported that they still find it difficult to move around across the communities, and returnee fishermen in Bacan reported that they lack confidence to sail as far as they used to when fishing.

As a consequence, the economic life of the family very much relies on women's ability to augment income through economic activities outside the home. In order to provide food for the family, women have to work extra hard, such as working as hired laborer in the nearby farms, engaging in backyard gardening, animal raising, etc. With men's mobility outside the house limited, women often have to take long walks, go to the forested land or take risks in returning to their place of origin to start cultivating their land and farms in order to find something to eat for the family. In Posunga and Galuga IDPs camps (Pamona Utara), for instance, women have to walk approximately one hour to go to the town or to forest land in order to find a source of income and food for the family.

The conflict has also created and expanded women's roles and opportunities at the community level, especially in terms of organizing and taking responsibility for the social welfare of the community. This includes distributing food and medical care to the IDPs, involvement in the development of infrastructures, water supply and sanitation for the community in their sites of origin or in the IDPs camps, coordinating and providing counseling services for the IDPs, helping the police and military in food preparation, participating in community discussions, workshops and training.

The change in the division of labor has brought both positive and negative impacts on women. The female participants of the FGDs explained that their "new" roles in economic and community development not only increased their self-esteem and confidence, but

also increased their participation and access to decision making in the family and community levels. For example, a female participant of the FGDs stated that her participation in distributing the JADUP (*jaminan hidup*) - the government emergency compensation - to the conflict-affected population had led her to become more respected by the people. The community even asked her to become a candidate for the election to the head of the village as an appreciation for what she had done for the community.

However, the change in the gender division of labor has also created a greater burden and longer work hours for women. This has made it difficult for women to manage their time between domestic, productive and community roles and they have little time to rest and do things for their own personal needs. This can put women at a greater risk of physical and emotional exhaustion and could affect their health condition in the long term. In addition, this can also put women at greater risk of a danger, as they often have to walk and travel far away from their homes in order to carry out their multiple roles.

2.2 Livelihoods and Employment

A lack of livelihood opportunities and potential sources of income is one of the most significant impacts of the conflict. A number of businesses run by outsiders in Poso and surrounding areas have been closed down as a result of the conflicts, causing layoffs and unemployment. From the key informant interviews and the FGDs in Poso, it is clear that the livelihood and job recovery programs are the topmost concerns and immediate needs of both the returnees and the IDPs. They believe that the delivery of other assistance programs, such as education and health, will not fully benefit them if they still lack a sustainable job or source of income. Thus, initiating sustainable job and sources of income for the returnees and IDPs is a crucial starting point for rebuilding of the life of the returnees and the IDPs—women and men—in the Poso District.

Land and Agriculture

Traditionally, farming and fishing were two of the main sources of employment for both women and men in Poso and the

surrounding areas. However, the outbreak of conflict, compounded by uncertainties and insecurity has caused a large number of people - women and men - to lose their access to the original land for cultivation. During the conflicts, plantations such as cocoa and clove plantations were destroyed. Many people also lost their farm tools and fishing equipment, either because the tools and equipment were destroyed or because people did not bring their valuables when they left their original places during the escalation of the conflicts.

The assessment also indicates that more and more people are beginning to access their cultivated land in their places of origin as a result of improved security. However, they have reported that they sometimes still have fears when they need to go to their cultivated lands due to the sporadic shootings and killings. Thus, people—women and men—initiate to organize themselves to go to their cultivated land and farms in groups either with their neighbors or with other family members in order to protect each other.

The key informants and the participants of the FGDs, however expressed that the income generated from their cultivated land and farm has dramatically been reduced. Before the conflicts, people in Poso were generally accustomed to good living conditions with a relatively high level of income. For instance, as cocoa farmers, before the outbreak of the conflict they were able to earn as much as Rp. 1,000,000-Rp 2,500,000 / week from selling crops. Their income now has declined between 50-75% since before the conflict. This income decline is partly due to the lower farm productivity because their lands have been left unattended for almost 4 years during the displacement.

A male returnee from Korondoda (Tojo), for instance reported that before the conflict he earned around Rp. 50,000-Rp.150,000/day from selling his agricultural products. This person now reports that his income has decreased significantly because his farmland cannot yet be fully cultivated. He can only earn around Rp. 20,000/day from working as a farm laborer on his neighbor's farm. In Posunga (Pamona Utara), the IDPs who were originally from Malei (Lage sub-district) claimed that generally they could only make as much as Rp. 5,000/day. The income they earned is not

sufficient to support the daily basic needs of the family, such as food, clothing, and education for the children.

Food Security

Lack of income has created the problem of food insecurity for most of the conflict-affected families in the Poso area. Women are the most affected by the lack of income and food because providing and serving food for the family is still considered a women's primary responsibility. The inability to provide adequate food for the family due to the lack of income has brought about emotional and psychological problems on women such as feelings of guilt, powerlessness and helplessness, depression and a loss of self-worth.

The participants of the key informant's interviews and the FGDs appreciate and acknowledge the food assistance offered by the government and non-governmental organizations, especially during the earlier phases of conflicts and displacement (e.g. the "Food for Work program" of the Church World Service, CWS). This has provided them with immediate relief and assistance regarding food and income insecurity. However, most of assistance and support they received earlier has run out or has slowly decreased and/or is still inadequate to meet the needs of all family members.

2.3 Education

Lack of access to education is another significant problem caused by the outbreak of the conflicts in Poso and surrounding areas. A large number of schools and other educational facilities were destroyed and/or burned out. Many teachers and school administrators left and moved to other places. Only a small number of teachers and school administrators have returned to their original workplace, particularly those who were originally from the Poso area.

Lack of Education Facilities

Even though the government and various other agencies (e.g. District Education and Learning Office (*Dinas Pendidikan dan Pengajaran (Dikjar)*) and Mercy Corps) have rebuilt new schools, the assistance was normally limited and insufficient to meet all

the basic educational needs of children in the region. In some areas, new schools have not yet been rebuilt. As a consequence, people have to use other places and facilities such as churches, houses and other temporary buildings to perform educational activities. In Korondoda village, Tojo sub-district, for example, before the outbreak of conflicts there were three school buildings and seven classrooms. Now this area has only one school building and three classrooms, while there are only two teachers in the school to teach all students from grade 1 to 6. A similar situation has also occurred in other villages such as Buyun Taripa (Tojo), Tangkura (Poso Pesisir), Tongko (Lage) and Posunga (Pamona Utara). In North Maluku, the Head of the Provincial Education Office states that around 800 primary school buildings need to be renovated, with 300 damaged or destroyed during the conflict. So far they are able to renovate 50 schools each year since 2000, and there are still 600 schools waiting to be repaired.

School Drop Outs

The outbreak of conflicts and displacement has resulted in declining school participation rates in both Poso and North Maluku. Although data on school participation based on gender were not available, the assessment found that school participation rates had declined for a variety of reasons including (i) parents are unable to sustain the expenses of schooling or could not afford to pay for their children's education due to lack of income, (ii) a lack of educational services and facilities (e.g. schools, teachers, books, etc), (iii) children have to work to earn additional income for the survival of the family, (iv) children were reluctant to go back to school due to the long absence during the displacement while living in the IDPs camps, and (v) the requirement of wearing school uniforms (*pakaian seragam*) imposed by teachers and school administrators in some cases had contributed to the reluctance of children to return to school and contributed to decline of school participation among children.⁴

⁴ The government tends to be insensitive and ignorant to this problem and has made no significant efforts to release this school uniform requirement. This issue was raised by some participants during the key informant interviews and the FGDs. For example, a

The assessment in Poso generally indicated that the children of the participants of the FGDs had a very low educational attainment. They had generally either dropped out of high school or had not even completed elementary (primary) school. Most of the key informants and the participants of the FGDs greatly emphasize the necessity of schools and other assistance related to educational services and facilities in order to provide their children with a better education. An interesting finding from the assessment is that most of participants of the key informant interviews and the FGDs acknowledge the importance of education for both girls and boys, and that girls and boys should have equal access to education. In North Maluku, however, the number of female and male students is balanced at the primary education level, but by high school and university, the number of female students is becoming less than the number of male students, a sign of gender inequality in education. The crisis in education of children and will have long-term impacts on the process of recovery, reconciliation and peace-building, and special attention and effort is critical to overcome this particular problem.

2.4 Health

Direct Impacts of the Conflict

Trauma and psychological stress such as fear, helplessness, depression and insomnia are the most common health problems experienced by most women and men in Poso district as a result of the conflict. For example, women IDPs from Kilo-9 village (Lage sub-district) are one of the most affected groups of women who suffered the loss of many relatives and family members and their property during the conflict. Most of the Kilo-9 women have decided not to return because of the traumatic memories associated with the conflict, and have instead decided to start a new life in Poso town.

Key informants and participants of the FGDs reported trauma and psychological stress that were compounded by economic pressures

female participant of the FGDs expressed that she could not afford to pay for her child's school uniform and her child had to quit school. This is partly because her child was afraid and felt uncomfortable (*'malu'*) going to the school without wearing the proper school uniform and shoes.

and by the current sporadic shootings and killings. These pressures have caused many men, especially young men, to use drugs and alcohol as a coping mechanism to 'overcome' their problems. The participants also reported that domestic violence has tended to increase because of the psychological and economic pressure.

General Health Issues

Aside from trauma and psychological stress, the assessment revealed that malaria, diarrhea, child malnutrition, acute respiratory infections and skin diseases are prevalent in the population in Poso and surrounding areas. The major causes of these illnesses according to the participants are long work hours, poor hygiene, lack of clean water, food and nutrition, and lack of health facilities and services. In North Maluku, rates of goiter (*gondok*) are high, with about 40% of children estimated to have this disease, which can reduce the IQ of children by up to a quarter. Mothers need more information on the importance of using iodized salt and its benefits for both them and their children.

Health Services and Access

Many health facilities were destroyed and services discontinued as a result of the outbreak of the conflicts. For example, the integrated health post (*posyandu*), which was one of the main elements of the village-based health services, has been discontinued or provided irregularly in many locations in both Poso and North Maluku due to a lack of financial support, willingness of volunteers and availability of health workers. In South Halmahera, there are about 200 villages with each village needing five cadres to run its health post. These cadres need some money (Rp. 10,000/month/person) for their work, and as there is insufficient budget, most of these cadres no longer come to the *posyandu*.

The main community health centers (*puskesmas*) with doctors available are mostly located in the urban centres of Poso and Tentena, thus many people are unable to access them easily due to the distance of the health centers from their homes. In addition, a lack of income, bad road conditions and lack of local public transportation make the health services even more difficult to access.

People who are categorized as 'poor' get an identity card (*kartu sehat*) to access free health services. However, regional budgets cannot support these costs. For example, in South Halmahera, the APBD allocation provides Rp. 95,000 per person per year for medical support, yet one contraceptive injection for three months, for example, costs Rp. 20,000. Some IDPs say they are supposed to get free health care with their "poor person" identity card, but in reality they have to pay for this. There is a need to support more effective health service delivery for the poor in North Maluku.

Reproductive Health and Services

The assessment also revealed that the outbreak of conflict has negatively affected women's reproductive health. Issues related to women's reproductive health include premarital sex, early marriages, unwanted and early pregnancies, and unsafe abortions. Some contributing factors to these problems, among others, are (i) a lack of women's reproductive health services, especially birth control supplies, (ii) an increase in the costs of birth control (from Rp.5, 000 to Rp. 15,000), (iii) inability to buy birth control due to a lack of income, (iv) an increase in the numbers of female and male youth who have dropped out of school (e.g. in Posunga camp (Pamona Utara) and Tangkura village (Poso Pesisir)), (v) changes in sexual behavior among young people because of displacement (indicated by the growing of the number of youths having premarital sex). For example, in Posunga, a key informant even claimed that around 60% of early marriages were as a result of premarital sex and unwanted pregnancies. In North Maluku, only 30% of births are helped by trained midwives, with most births (70%) assisted by a traditional mid-wife (*dukun beranak*).

2.5 Participation in Politics

Women and Village Politics

In the Poso area, politics is dominated by male elites including community and religious leaders. The outbreak of the conflict in the Poso area, however, has provided women with a greater opportunity to be involved in politics. For example, there were four women involved in the Malino Accord and more women are

involved as heads of villages (*kepala desa* or *lurah*) or as members of village councils (*Badan Perwakilan Desa, BPD*). For example, when the assessment was carried out it was reported that six villages (Pamona, Kasintuwu, Petirodoni, Tendeadongi, Tagolu and Korondoda) were headed by women, and three women who had been elected to their village council (BPD) in Tongko, Tambaran Trans and Korondoda.

Political Parties

Women are also actively involved in the political parties. During the parliamentary election, women were actively involved in the political campaign of their parties. Two women peace activists were selected by their parties as candidates for parliament, however they failed in being elected to the parliament. The involvement of women in helping disadvantaged people during and after the conflicts seems to have played a role in promoting their advancement in politics. For example, the two women activists above confirmed that part of the reason they were appointed to be candidates for the parliament was due to their involvement in peace activism.

Yet there are still very few women in leadership positions in government, political parties or civil society. In North Maluku, for example, there are currently four women who come from Golkar party in North Halmahera district. It is reported that from the results of the last election in April 2004, two women received the most votes to the DPRD, but they had to give up their seats due to their low ranking on their party's list. Their seats will be given to men as they were higher up the party's list, despite the fact that the men received fewer votes. At provincial level, there are going to be two women as parliamentary representatives, one in the provincial DPRD from PPP, which has a very conservative view on female equality, and the other, the wife of Sultan Ternate, who was elected to the Dewan Perwakilan Daerah (DPD, national Regional Representatives Council) in Jakarta.

2.6 Security and Justice

People in Poso have various perceptions and opinions regarding the issues of security and justice. Both women and men generally perceive that security in Poso and surrounding

areas has improved. However, men seem to have more positive attitudes toward the presence of the police and military personnel in the region than women. Most men met still feel insecure to return to their home communities or to cultivate their land and farms. Both male returnees and IDPs generally support the presence of the police and military posts, especially because of the sporadic shootings and killings of several people (mainly men) in their fields. In general, men expressed that the continuing presence of the police and military personnel makes them feel more secure and safer.

Women, however, have different opinions. Most, even though they are generally supportive of the existence of police and military posts in their areas, claim that the number of police and military needs to be reduced. Most women expressed concern about the increase in the number of unmarried pregnant girls who have been left by the police and military personnel after engaging in premarital sex with them.⁵ Unfortunately, accurate data on the prevalence of this problem are not available.

Some female participants also complained that the presence of a large number of police and military personnel around their homes. They expressed that this has reduced their family income and/or increased their workload because they have to buy and/or prepare food for the police and the military personnel. The female returnees from Tangkura and Korondoda especially expressed this problem. Female returnees from Tongko (Lage), however, stated that the presence of the police and military post in their area has brought them an additional source of income. The police and military personnel pay as much as of Rp. 200,000 / month to the women for the work they do, such as preparing and cooking the food, as well as washing clothes for them.

Women, especially those who have returned to their village, claimed that the ongoing presence of the police and military around their homes creates an impression to other people (especially outsiders) that the

⁵ Known as the phenomena of "KORAMIL" (*Korban Rayuan Militer* = victim of military seduction) and 'SSB' (*sisa sisa Brimob* = Brimob leftovers). See also section 3.1 of this report.

areas where they live are still not calm and safe. This impression of unsafe environment sometimes makes them feel uncomfortable and insecure, especially when the police and military personnel fire their guns to kill animals, and jeopardizes peace-building activities. The gunfire reminds them of terrifying situations they experienced during the escalation of the conflict and has a negative impact on their personal healing process.

2.7 Displacement and Return

IDPs and returnees still face serious problems concerning the lack of livelihoods, housing facilities, food insecurity, health, water and sanitation, access to health services and education for children. Women IDPs and returnees similarly consider the lack of livelihood options including jobs and income as the biggest problem they face, making many reliant on the assistance provided by government and other agencies. Women, in particular, face hardship with prolonged periods of living and caring for their children in the camps, while men spend more time out of the camp if they have found work.

Displacement and Livelihoods

In the IDP camps and/or in new resettlements, livelihood options are also very limited. Women and men normally have no regular means of earning income, and as a coping mechanism some people have borrowed land, practiced sharecropping or rented plots of land and worked as farm laborers on a daily basis. As farm laborers they can earn as much as Rp.20,000-Rp.25,000/day. However, in most cases, work is scarce because so many people are in need of work. In addition, some people have become very reliant on donations and irregular work provided by humanitarian agencies, such as engaging in the “Food for Work” or the “*Padat Karya*” program of the Church World Service WS as a source of livelihood and income. Other people have also tried to find jobs outside of agricultural work. For example, in Poso City and Tentena, many male IDPs have worked in occupations such as motorcycle taxis (*tukang ojek*), brick making, construction, furniture making, etc. Many female IDPs work as housekeepers or petty traders in the local market selling vegetables, food, etc. Some women work in restaurants

and are engaged in traditional food production. In Rono Noncu (Poso Pesisir), women and men are engaged in the production of furniture and handicrafts made of ebony. In Tentena, it was reported that more women are engaged in prostitution in order to maintain their family life after the outbreak of the conflict. In North Maluku, displaced men have found a range of jobs such as harbor workers, parking attendants, cleaners in the market and construction workers, amongst others.

Food and Health

The lack of livelihood options and income has limited access to adequate food supplies for their family. Although some reported that the CWS “Food for Work” program has helped them to meet at least their minimum basic needs, this program is still limited and does not meet all the needs of family members.

A lack of food has affected people’s health and IDPs and returnees express that they succumb to illness more readily. Problems with access to health services including the availability of medical supplies has also left people more vulnerable to sickness. Women who had experienced displacement stated that many of them are still suffering from tremendous psychological problems due to the loss of husbands, children and other family members during the conflict. In North Maluku, women complained that despite having a card that indicates eligibility for free health services, they are still asked to pay even though many women IDPs have no money when they visit a clinic or hospital. Other women raised the issue of birth, and that they are asked to prove they are IDPs and therefore they must arrange much paperwork.

Housing and Community Facilities

Women who have returned to their homes state they still face serious problems concerning housing and community facilities. Some are still homeless as they have not yet received the government’s compensation package and as a result have to live with relatives.⁶ Female returnees from Tongko

⁶ The government’s compensation package for returnees consists of a single payment of living expenses (JADUP / *Jaminan Hidup*) of Rp.2,500,000, Living Provisions (BEDUP / *Bekal Hidup*) of Rp. 40,000 and (RTS / *Rumah Tinggal Sederhana*) housing

(Lage) and Korondada (Tojo) especially expressed that the lack of government compensation was a problem. In Korondoda, for example it is reported that around 70

households. In Later camp, female IDPs also face similar problems. Due to the lack of water facilities, they often use rainwater as their main source of water and fetch water from the lake

Displacement and Return to Bacan: Ibu Yeny's Story

In January 2000, Ibu Yeny, who has three daughters and many grandchildren, had to take refuge at the PLN building in Bacan for four days when her village was attacked. These four days were like a nightmare as there was hardly anything to eat or drink. As they had no water, she remembers vividly how they tried to get some drops of water that leaked from the air conditioner at the PLN Building. It was not easy for her to recall this painful experience. "Some of our good neighbours tried to send us some food when we were waiting at the PLN building before being picked up by the security forces to be taken to the Panambuang area. But the food and water was thrown away by a group of people who guarded the PLN building, the same people who insulted us, had thrown Molotov cocktails, burnt houses and raised their swords to us."

Eventually, they were taken to Hatasua village in West Seram with only the clothes they stood in. In Hatasua village, she received a new simple house and used clothes. The local people allowed her to open a vegetable garden for daily needs and from time to time she went fishing. She also earned some money by baking bread and trading at the market where she sold vegetables from her garden.

Her husband decided to return to their village in Bacan by himself in mid 2002 when the situation better. Ibu Yeny was separated from her husband for some months, but then decided to return back to Bacan when she heard her husband was ill. She is now back with her husband in Bacan. She met again with some of her relatives and extended family, and found that five of them have converted their religion following the conflict. Ibu Yeny just wishes that they can live peacefully. Her experiences as an IDP have inspired her to do some reflection and be closer to God. She is still hesitant to take initiatives in village activity as she is not sure how people will re-act to her initiatives. Ibu Yeny is no longer active with the Family Welfare Movement (PKK), since the head of the district PKK has not invited her yet and she is not sure whether she should be active or not.

families have not received any housing compensation. Activists report that in total there are over 4,000 families have not received the compensation packages 'JADUP' or 'BEDUP' in the Poso areas.

All the women IDPs and returnees are concerned about their children's education as many of the children in the area are no longer in school. The lack of school facilities and services in their communities contributes to this issue, as does the fact that children are working to augment family incomes.

Water and Sanitation

Although many humanitarian agencies have played a significant role in helping build water and sanitation facilities, many female IDPs and returnees claim that they still have problems with access to clean water and sanitation. This is particularly true because the water and sanitation facilities are still not sufficient for all the people living in the area. For example, in Posunga there are six water sources, each shared among 20-30 households. In Tangkura (Poso Pesisir), each source of water has to be shared among 10-15

of Poso.

Return

In North Maluku, women stated that the situation that they have faced during their time displaced in camps and in the forest is one of the major motives for wishing to return to their villages. In 2001, frustration with being displaced lead women from Sahu who were living near the Governor's office in Ternate to protest in front of the North Maluku provincial DPRD office. They demanded guarantees of security and support so that they could return to their own villages in Sahu. In fact, people from Sahu were the first IDPs in North Maluku to take the initiative to finance their own return to their original homes. However, decisions on whether to return or not, or to move to an alternative place, are not necessarily discussed with women, who are typically not present in these meetings and do not participate in such decision-making processes. Women have typically followed what their community leaders say as they believe these men were protecting them from the attackers.

allowance (BBR / *Bahan Bangunan Rumah*) of Rp. 4,500,000).

In Poso, women expressed great concern about the importance of the resettlement and reconstruction programs for their places of origin. They stated that the resettlement and reconstruction programs of their original places would not be successful without their full participation in the programs. Most of the displaced women expressed their willingness to return to their sites of origin and are eager to make significant contributions to the success of the return and reconstruction programs. The hardship of living in the IDPs camps and concern about their children's education are among the most significant factors that encourage them to be willing to return to their sites of origin. But the security situation affects their decision to return. In order to return, they need assurances in terms of security, land and housing, livelihood assistance including farm and fishing equipment and tools, livestock, educational and health facilities and services, water and sanitation. In addition they need specific livelihood training to equip them with the skills needed to generate income.

The coordination, not only among the government agencies, but also between the government and NGOs is particularly lacking. As a result, assistance provided by these various agencies often overlaps and women expressed that visits from the various agencies at different times often interferes with their daily activities. It also creates frustration, pessimism and distrust, especially if the promised assistance does not materialize.

Widespread corruption has made the situation even worse, and women interviewed reported that corruption of program assistance for IDPs and returnees is not only carried out by government agencies but also by NGOs. For example, some claimed that many of the beneficiaries of the government's compensation (JADUP, BEDUP, RTS or BBR) are not the real IDPs or returnees. They claim that compensation goes to the implementing agency representatives (government, NGO), their relatives or people who are close to them. There is a popular saying among the IDPs and returnees concerning the corruption of aid: "*Yang besar, makan Super Kijang - yang kecil, makan Supermie*" ("Elites get a Kijang car, IDPs only get Supermie noodles").

3. Women's Roles and Experiences of Conflict

Conflict has affected and altered the traditional gender roles between women and men. At present, women's roles are no longer exclusively focused around the domestic sphere such as being mothers, wives or housekeepers, but rather women have increasingly multifaceted roles outside the ascribed traditional gender roles. As the previous section makes clear, women have also tended to have different experiences from men during and after the conflict.

Women's experiences in conflict can be considered in two different ways – women as *victims* and women as *actors*. Women are not solely passive victims but are important actors during and after violent conflict and can make important contributions to both war-making and peace-building. Therefore, it is imperative to look at women's roles and experience both as victims and as actors. Focusing only on women's experience as victims of the conflicts, for instance, will overlook the fact that women have played important roles and made significant contributions during and after conflicts in formal and informal peace processes. The following sections will discuss more details the roles and experience of women as victims and as actors playing a variety of roles in the conflict situations of Poso and North Maluku.

3.1 Women as Victims

Women experience various types of violence, from physical, emotional to sexual violence, in their own home, in camps or in public. Domestic and sexual violence can profoundly affect the physical, emotional, mental and social well-being of women victims. Sexual violence carries serious consequences including unwanted pregnancies, sexually transmitted diseases including HIV/AIDS, depression and post-traumatic stress disorder that can lead to suicidal thoughts and behavior. Victims can also face ostracism from family, friends and their communities. Unfortunately, there are no exact data in terms of the overall cases of domestic and sexual violence in the region, especially actual incidents of rape, forced abortions and unwanted pregnancies courtesy of the security forces. Some contributing factors to this

problem include (i) many women victims are reluctant to report the incidents to the authorities for fear of being socially stigmatized, (ii) violence associated with sexuality is shameful, 'taboo' and a private matter for many people, including women and men in the Poso area, (iii) a gender-based double standard regarding virginity and sexuality also plays a significant role in contributing to the reluctance of female victims to report the incidents to the authorities⁷, and (iv) a lack of support from the authorities in investigating incidents is also another significant factor that inhibits women from reporting domestic and sexual violence to the authorities.⁸

Domestic Violence

Although there are no accurate data available on the prevalence of domestic violence, this assessment indicates that there has been an increase in the occurrence of domestic violence, especially between husbands and wives in the IDPs camps.⁹ According to people interviewed, economic pressure, inadequate and poor living conditions, stress and increased use of alcohol are some of the important factors that have contributed to the increase in domestic violence. The most common forms of domestic violence are wife battering, sexual humiliation and harassment. For example, a female peace activist reported that she was sexually harassed while she was living in the IDPs camp in Poso City. A female IDP from Pantango Lemba who lives in Kayamanya Camp-Poso City reported

⁷ For many people in the Poso areas, virginity is considered important for women, but not for men. Having a pre-marital sexual relationship is socially and culturally not approved, and if pregnancy results, the woman is normally blamed and punished by society.

⁸ The police, military officers and others in the judicial system seem to be insensitive and ignorant to this problem. A lack of female staff and gender-sensitivity among the staff in the criminal justice system seems to play a role in contributing to this insensitivity and ignorance. In the district police office (*Polres*) in Poso, for instance, there are no female police officers or a special women's desk (*Ruang Perawatan Khusus, RPK*) to handle issues related to violence against women, further discouraging women from reporting any domestic and/or sexual violence to the authorities.

⁹ For example, in the Later IDP Camp.

that she was hit by a man while she tried to help the man's wife from a battering she was receiving.

In North Maluku, the number of incidents of domestic violence has been increasing, especially in IDP camps where there could be violence on a daily basis. Men get stressed because their mobility is limited but still they must gather food in the nearby forest garden. Women themselves had experienced domestic violence prior to the conflict, but within the camp's constraints they felt it to be twice as bad.

Sexual Violence

Common forms of sexual violence related to the outbreak of conflict have been rape, sexual humiliation and harassment. For example, the key informants reported that many female IDPs from Kilo-9 (Lage sub-district) were raped by an unidentified group of men during the escalation of the conflict. In Malei (Lage), it is also reported that a Moslem woman, whose husband was killed, was raped eight times and suffered severe psychological stress as a result. Although it was indicated that this case was reported to the police, the police were unable to find the perpetrator. Other cases have been dealt with using customary (*adat*) law. In Kawua, near Poso, an elementary school student was sexually harassed and a victim of attempted rape by her uncle. The case was handled by customary law with the man asked to leave the village within 72 hours and give a compensation of one goat to the girl's family.

Women IDPs also reported that they experienced sexual violence while living in the camps. One woman who lived in an IDP camp and was raped by a soldier wanted to report the case to the authorities until she found out that the alleged perpetrator was a soldier. Aware that the perpetrator was a soldier, the woman decided to drop her case fearful of the consequences if she reported the case to the authorities. IDPs in Bacan Island stated that women were raped by the army who were supposed to protect them. Their spouses and parents cannot protest to the military because they will be hit. Some cases of rape took place in front of their family members who were powerless to help them. About 10 women were pregnant as a result of these assaults. These

women subsequently fled from the camp with their children.

The interview with the key informants also showed that female children and young girls are vulnerable to incest while living in the IDPs camps. However, accurate data on the prevalence of incest were not available when the assessment was carried out. According to the key informants some contributing factors to this problem are alcoholism, inadequate living conditions, sexual frustration, and unsatisfied sexual relationship with wives due to poor living conditions while living in the camps.

Koramil / SSB

One significant problem in the regions that have experienced violent conflict is that of girls who had been left pregnant by the police and military personnel (also know locally as *Koramil* and *SSB* – see 2.6). Social status, the needs for security and financial support, in addition to the feeling of love, are some of the factors that contribute to the involvement of many young women in sexual relationships with police and military personnel. For some women in the Poso area, being involved in a relationship with the police and military not only can increase their social status, but also assist them in tackling with the problem of insecurity and lack of income.

For those who go on to give birth, they are faced with the challenges of being a single parent. However, there are many cases where young women have been forced to get an abortion following sex with the police or military personnel. These relationships rarely end with marriage as (i) the police / military person is already married, (ii) the girls were only perceived by the police and military as sexual objects in order to cope with their sexual frustration during the security assignment in the region, (iii) the police and military left the girls due to a new assignment in other places outside of the Poso areas, and (iv) the police and military could not marry the girls because the girls do not have an adequate education based on police regulations concerning marriage.¹⁰

¹⁰ According to police regulations, policeman can only marry a girl who has at least graduated from High School.

3.2 Women as Combatants

There is no clear picture regarding the role of women as combatants during the escalation of the conflict in Poso. Some stated that women played a role as combatants, but others stated that it was only a rumor. In general, the participants of the key informant interviews seemed to be very careful and did not feel comfortable to discuss about this issue. For them the word “combatant” itself has a negative meaning and reminds them of all the tragic situations that they had in the past. The Centre for Conflict Studies (P4K) of the University of Tadulako, however, recounted that one of the participants of the training they conducted for ex-combatants was a woman. She was supposedly the leader of ‘*Pasukan Kupu-kupu*’ (lit. butterfly warriors), the women combatants of the Christian communities, whose existence, however, has long been debated, especially by Christian communities, who do not believe that they really existed.

Even though generally the participants of the key informant interviews avoided talking about the role of women as combatants, they confirmed that women played significant roles in supporting and protecting male combatants during the escalation of conflict, but in non-violent ways. These roles include organizing women and children to flee to safe places, providing logistics and supplies (i.e. food and medicines for combatants), providing moral support for the combatants by organizing prayer sessions or giving them lucky charms. In North Maluku, the women’s group *Laskar Mujahidah* provided medical, logistic and spiritual support to *Laskar Mujahidin*.

In both Poso and North Maluku, several women from both Moslem and Christian communities were believed to have supernatural powers. The women were believed to have protected the combatants by providing them with lucky charms and transferring their supernatural powers to the combatants. Women also had influence over combatants in other ways. In Ternate, there is also a story about the time when yellow Muslim forces (loyal to the Sultan of Ternate) and white Muslim forces were facing each other. A group of women called upon them to stop the fight against each other, and urged

them to unite and fight against the Christians.¹¹ Similarly in Tobelo, a woman priest was reported to have played a leadership role in *Laskar Kristus*, the Christian forces.

Clearly, religion was used as a binding identity as each community built its defense and offence during the conflict. At the individual level, religious identity was not so potent but also appeared to have a gender aspect. For example, there was an incident when a Christian woman was caught trapped in the Muslim community area. She was freed as she had Muslim relatives in that area, and as long as her Muslim relatives stood by her, she was safe. But if a man got caught, he would have been killed despite the pleas of his Muslim relatives. Women were seen as unworthy to be killed and they may also have been regarded as not being responsible for causing the conflict.

3.3 Women as Peace Activists

Conflict has inspired and encouraged some women in Central Sulawesi, especially in the Poso area, to become peace activists and community leaders. Most of the female peace activists in Poso were university student activists or were actively engaged in the PKK (Government Community Based Organization sponsored Program on Family Welfare) activities at district, sub-district or village levels before the outbreak of the conflict. Female peace activists who have a university background tend to be young (20 years or older), while those who were from the PKK tend to be older (40 years or older) and are less educated compared to the young peace activists. Some of the women activists from the PKK have not completed high school and others have only finished elementary school.

As peace activists and community leaders, women in the Poso areas get involved in peace and community activities for different reasons and in different ways. Their motivation generally is to end the violent conflicts, and to help people and families overcome the emerging economic and social problems resulting from the conflicts. A few women have been involved in the formal peace process of the Malino Accord and the Malino Deklaration Task Force (*Pokja Deklama*),

¹¹ Interviews in North Maluku on 28-30 May 2004.

while others have been involved in promoting the Poso Conflict Resolution Task Force (*Pokja Resolusi Konflik Poso (RKP)*). Other women established new NGOs and CBOs and organized other women to join their organizations to promote peace-building activities. Other women were involved in distributing food, clothes, medical care, and helped rebuilding infrastructure such as water and sanitation, roads and houses. Some of them help the Government in administrating and distributing the JADUP and BEDUP—the government compensation—to IDPs and returnees. Several women also help in preparing and cooking food for the security and military staff. Some women initiated to organize women's small-scale economic group and women's cooperative to help other women to generate income. They also help to write proposals and raise funds to support peace-building related activities in their communities.

In North Maluku, although women have played a relatively minor role in peace-building processes at the district and provincial levels, there are many examples where women have played key roles at the community level. For example, '*tong serumah*' (lit. 'we are in the same home') has been used as a bridge between the two communities, who visit each others homes with women usually being the key actors in this kind of visit. Women have continued to talk about the notion of '*tong serumah*' in the market or in informal meetings, and some talk about disseminating the notion to public places like hospitals.

Women traders and markets have also been important. For example, the market in Akadiri is now one of the biggest in West Halmahera district. Three years ago, the market was just an empty court-yard belonging to the army, when the wives of some army personnel used the courtyard to provide a market for the sale of some basic foodstuffs. The market grew and now more people are coming to trade. The traders are women with fish supplied by Muslim women from the Gufasa coast and vegetables by women from Christian villages. Another example is a Muslim business women from Jailolo, West Halmahera, who resumed trade between the Muslim and Christian communities. Having been displaced to Ternate, she decided to return to her village despite having lost her farming business and

shop that sold basic goods and building materials in the conflict. She was initially refused permission to return, but as she insisted she was allowed to visit her village for a week. The first thing she did was to visit her customers with some basic goods, and she offered to distribute their vegetable crops to the Muslim community in Jailolo. This offer was accepted and is working well.

Shared trauma has also brought people together. Some mothers in Galela, North Maluku believe their deepest trauma is shared by other women because they witnessed their husbands and children being killed. They felt their experiences to be more traumatic than of the men who conducted the violence. In July 2001, when the conflict had subsided, these mothers made contact with Christian women in Tobelo, who prior to the conflict used to be involved in joint activities between *Aisiyah* women's organization and the Sinode church women's group. When these women first attempted to make contact with the other community they were derided for doing so by their fellow women who thought they were being traitors. This same also happened to mothers from the church *Sinode*, who at the being of the first contact with the women's Muslim groups such as *Aisiyah* and *Muslimat*, were accused of being traitors by the women priest of Protestant church. Although they found it difficult to make peace, these women took the initiative to make contact with the other side because of their concern about the impact of the conflict on their children. They were afraid that their children would seek revenge against the other religion's community. They believe that what needs to be done is to equip women as peace builders and to stop their children harboring feelings of revenge. Women have the opportunity to do this as they interact more with their children.

Women peace activists and community leaders also actively encourage people—women, men and children—to create a culture of peace such as through organizing prayer sessions, e.g. "*pengajian*" (Kor'an reading) and church services ("*ibadah jemaat*"). They organized peace trips from Moslem areas to Christian areas or vice versa to help in building trust between the two communities. They also actively participate in the promotion of peace education and other peace related activities by

Women's Participation in Peace and Politics – an Issue for Local Government

Women in Poso are underrepresented in the formal peace processes. Only four women were involved in the Malino Accord, which was dominated by male elites from government agencies and community or religious leaders.

The Office of Women's Empowerment of the Government of Poso District is the natural focal point for women, yet it had a minimal role in promoting women's participation in the formal peace-building process. Although the Office has conducted training on leadership skills and women's political participation for women's organizations in the Poso area, this was not specifically aimed at promoting women's participation in formal peace-building activities. Most of the peace-related activities conducted by the Office have been more focused on delivering services related to emergency response such as trauma healing, distributing food and medical care and other activities. Currently, in collaboration with the PKK of the Poso District, the Office also focuses on building the economic empowerment of women IDPs and returnees, such as by establishing a showroom as a marketing channel for the female IDPs and returnees (e.g. from Poso City, Poso Pesisir and Tojo sub-district) to sell their products.

The Office of Women's Empowerment has been limited in its lobbying and promotion of women to the formal peace process because of several factors including a marginal and subordinate position of the Office itself within local government administration, a lack of financial support and a lack of skills, training and experience in gender, conflict and peace related issues.

Equal participation and representation of women and men in the formal peace processes and activities is indeed crucial. A lack of women's participation and roles in the formal peace-building processes and activities is a reflection of the persistence of gender inequalities and lack of gender awareness among the formal peace agents. This condition potentially could cause women's needs, interests and rights in the peace-building processes and activities to be overlooked. The design and the implementation of the formal peace building process and activities would suffer from gender blindness and male bias by representing more the needs of man than the needs of women. This condition would have a long-term negative impact not only on the process of peace-building itself, but also on the process of recovery.

Therefore, increasing the gender awareness, knowledge, skills and capacity of the formal peace actors and government officials at all levels through, for example, training on gender mainstreaming, is one important action that needs to be taken in order to promote women's participation and roles in the formal peace-building processes and activities.

organizing and participating in peace marches, seminars, workshops, training and informal discussions.¹²

In North Maluku, women highlighted the fact that there has not yet been any significant interfaith dialog since the conflict. In particular, neither community has enlightened women scholars that are knowledgeable about interfaith issues and their importance in a pluralistic society. Often women are engaged in various activities that can lead to a more open communication and hopefully will able to discuss peace building activities. This communication can be started at family level, where values are taught and socialized. The

family unit is the place where peaceful spirit is planted or adversarial attitudes can be developed. Women can contribute a lot on child development, on facilitating for children in finding their roles models. One woman explained how children who experienced living for more than one month in a forest have been affected tremendously. Whenever they are asked what they wanted to be when they grow up, these children answered how much they want to be a soldier as the soldiers from 511 Brawijaya found them and led them out of the forest to safety.

Conversely, in Bacan, South Halmahera, people talked of moving on and forgetting about the conflict. The Christians even reflected that the conflict was a warning from God that they were not behaving well enough. The female priest suggested that this was the way her people reconciled themselves to the situation when they lacked the freedom to express openly their feelings. Until now, the Christian minority in Bacan thinks twice about expressing their thoughts publicly as they worry about triggering further conflict. The Muslim views expressed were that provocateurs started the conflict and were from outside the community.

¹² For example, this assessment would not have been successfully conducted without the participation and the help from women peace activists and community leaders in the Poso areas. The women peace activists and community leaders not only participated in the FGDs activities, but also assisted in the preparation and organization of the FGDs and other activities during the assessment. Their help included disseminating information regarding the assessment, assisting in identifying and collecting information, making contacts with potential participants for the key informant interviews and the FGDs, organizing grass-roots women, IDPs and returnees to come to the FGDs, and facilitating the FGDs' sessions.

Visibility of Women as Peace Agents

Even though women peace activists and community leaders play important roles in promoting peace-building processes and activities, many obstacles have hindered women peace activists and community leader to fully participate in the peace-building processes and activities (see Section 4.2). In addition, women's contribution to peace tends to be 'invisible' and is still marginalized in the context of the formal peace-building processes (see Box). Many peace-building activities conducted and initiated by women peace activists and community leaders have been carried out outside of the official and formal peace-building mechanism that is sponsored by the government agencies.

Although a few women are involved in formal peace organizations and mechanisms in Poso, they have not been able to gain much support from women peace activists at the community level as their activities have been seen to represent more the needs of elites than the needs of women at the grass-roots. Similarly in North Halmahera, people from the grassroots were not really consulted and encouraged to participate in the reconciliation process. Government and local elites just mobilized people to endorse and follow their decisions on how to stop the conflict. Further, the sub-district (*kecamatan*) reconciliation teams (known as Team 17 in Sahu, Team 25 in Ibu and Team 30 and Team 13 in Jailolo) have no women participating, let alone in a leadership position. This approach prevented the people at the "grass-roots" level from having a sense of ownership of the reconciliation process. As a consequence, many people are still feeling traumatized and have thoughts of revenge rather than looking to build a peaceful future.

During the key informant interviews and the FGDs, women peace activists and community leaders expressed that building their own personal capacity in conducting the peace-building activities is one of their priority needs. They also stressed the importance of promoting and bringing women, especially women peace activists and community leaders at the grassroots level, into decision making positions and formal peace-building processes and activities.

3.4 Women as Survivors

Women exercise various types of strategies and coping mechanisms not only for maintaining their own lives but also maintaining their family's and other people's lives.

Some women have to take additional risks, for example, by walking long distances, either individually or collectively with other women, to go and cultivate their land, to find something to eat or find a source of income for the family. Female IDPs in Posunga Camp, Pamona Utara for instance have to go back to their places of origin in Malei-Lage to find food and other sources of income for family survival due to the lack of sources of income in their camp.

Other women chose to move or are transmigrated to other places, leaving their property and starting a new life in a place they consider safe and promising. Some women decide to move and live collectively, sharing the same house with relatives and others of the same religion and ethnicity from their own communities in order to feel safe.

Other women decided to live in the IDPs camps as they feel safer living collectively with their own community. In the Later IDP camp, for example, most of the Christian female IDPs feel more secure living in the IDPs camp than in their original places. The Moslem female IDPs from Kilo-9 and Moslem female IDPs in Kayamanya camp in Poso City expressed the same feelings.

On the other hand, many women decided to return to their places of origin. The hard life of living in the camps, the concern about their children's education and the cultivated land, farms, houses and other properties they left behind encourage them to return to their original places. They encouraged husbands, children, other family members, and neighbors to return to their original place to rebuild their social structures, economic life, and infrastructures that had deteriorated due to the conflicts and displacement. For example, in Tangkura, Poso Pesisir the female returnees with other community and religious leaders played significant roles in bringing back their original community, both Moslems and Christians to their original places. When the assessment was conducted almost 100 % of the Tangkura original community had returned to

their original homes. The village of Tangkura was selected the cleanest village in Poso Pesisir and is also one of the most successful villages in implementing the reconstruction and rehabilitation programs after the violent conflicts. The people of Tangkura claimed that their neighborhood is now better than before the conflict. The success of the village of Tangkura in implementing its reconstruction and rehabilitation program of course cannot be denied and is a direct result of the roles of women as coping and surviving actors.

Another coping mechanism is engaging in peace activism. Some women choose to become peace activists and work voluntarily to assist the government, humanitarian agencies, NGOs and INGOs to deliver material and financial services to the IDPs and returnees. Engaging in peace activism and voluntary work often provides women with the opportunities to earn additional money received from the organizations as compensation for the work they performed. In addition, it also provides them with the opportunity to learn how to survive in extreme circumstances from the knowledge, practice and experience they gain from working directly with the community and with the organizations at the grassroots level.

3.5 Women as Heads of Households

Conflict has led to many women being widowed or separated, and therefore becoming the single head of household.

Around 180 women from Kilo-9 (Lage) were widowed and now live in the IDP camps in Poso town. They have decided not to return due to their trauma and regularly organize prayer sessions and “*pengajian*”—Kor’an reading—every Saturday afternoon as a means of coping with their experience. Most of the women-headed households and widows from Kilo-9 are now very poor. They used to cultivate their land with their husbands and earned income from agricultural work, but their land is no longer a source of income because it has been left unattended for so long. Some of the women have already sold their land at a low price, while others still keep their land and practice sharecropping with their former (Christian) neighbors.

Most of the female-headed households and widows from Kilo-9 now earn money from petty trading, food production and the sale of vegetables at the traditional market in Poso town. They start work at around 03.00am and buy the vegetables from (Christian) women vegetable traders from other villages for sale in the market. They earn around Rp. 5,000-Rp.15,000/day, and assert that this is not enough to cover all their daily basic needs. Most of them live in very small houses, normally shared with more than two families.

One widow, who has six daughters and two sons reported that one of her son’s was killed and all her daughters were widowed. They now all live together in the same house, earning money from selling vegetables, food and snacks such as fried tofu and banana. They sell vegetables in the morning and then sell other food productions in the afternoon. Her son also helps in augmenting their income for the family from a small motorcycle repair business operated in front of their house.

The widows in this IDPs camp have created small business groups for women to help them to earn income. The groups were initiated by Ibu Chamsyah, the camp coordinator. She started the groups by lending as much as Rp. 250,000-1,000,000 as initial assets for each group. There are three different women small business groups to date and each consists of 6-10 women. The women explained that the group could earn around Rp. 50,000/day from selling food and snacks. They share the money they earn from selling the food and snacks weekly. Each week the group earns around Rp. 350, 000. Thus, each female widow / household head earns less than Rp. 60,000 per week or less than Rp. 9,000 / day Though the money they earn from this activity is very small and is not enough to cover all their daily basic needs, they asserted that it helps them to stay alive on a daily basis.

Widows from both Kilo-9 and Kayamanya camp expressed their need for income generating assistance such as micro-credit, materials and training to improve their skills in generating income. Some female-headed households from Kilo-9 reported that CWS conducted training and supplied some materials and tools to generate income (e.g. stove to help them in making cake and other food productions and sewing machine).

However, they are unable to make money from selling cake and making clothes due to lack of initial money and the market. The case of female-headed households and widows from Kilo-9 provides a clear example of how women become the primary surviving actors for the survival of the family. They work in whatever jobs they can in order to make money, from petty traders, selling food, vegetables, snacks and so on, to housekeepers, cleaning, washing clothes and dishes for the rich neighbors or restaurants nearby.

In North Maluku, many women who were widowed as a result of the conflict see themselves as a vulnerable group. Some women have not even had their relatives' bodies recovered for burial and still feel resentment to the other community for the loss of their loved ones. Other women have had their husbands disabled by the conflict, which has similar consequences in economic terms. The difficulty for widows is that they have to start from scratch with both the impacts of the conflict as well as the loss of their spouse. Before the conflict, household expenses were shared with their husbands. Men tended to work with "hard" tree crops (*tanaman keras*) including coconut, clove and nutmeg which are usually harvested every three to six months. The income from these crops can reach Rp 30 million and is usually used for large expenditures including buying motor bike, boat, school registration fees, building house and Hajj pilgrimage. As for women they worked on daily crops including vegetables which are collectively known as "short aged" crops e.g. tomatoes, chilies and peanuts. Some of these crops were sold by the women for cash to pay for daily food and to meet the needs of their children.

Many of the women who have been widowed have little experience in managing tree crops, which in some cases they find traumatic to work as these were the "killing fields" during the conflict. Prior to the conflict, the short aged crops were seen as petty money, and their management and marketing was a lower priority than hard tree crops. Nowadays as these women become the sole breadwinner for their families, they primarily rely on the short aged crops. Women find the situation is very difficult for them since the income from the short aged crop is less reliable, and is not

Income Generation for Widows in North Maluku

Around 1,000 widows in 67 KWT (Kelompok Wanita Tani / Women Farmer's Groups) received assistance for income generation in 2003 from the provincial government through its Agency for the Empowerment of Village People (BPMD). The programme is run in partnership with the Family Welfare Movement (PKK), which has the largest and most widespread women's network across the country reaching out to hamlet level.

The women included in the programme are mostly widows and/or poor and are a vulnerable group in need of some capital and assistance. Each group was provided short term assistance in the form of soya bean for planting and longer-term support in the form of goat husbandry and cocoa. The pilot projects are run in Sufifi, sub-district Oba Utara, Kota Tidore Kepulauan, West Halmahera (sub-district Sahu) and South Halmahera (Bacan). The women involved in the programme have also been able to influence it – for example, in Sufifi most women wanted vanilla instead of soya or cocoa, and the programme accepted this change.

These widows who have become the breadwinners are aware that reconciliation is necessary. They cannot forget what has happened and some are still traumatised. The Government is expecting to use these programmes as a vehicle for the reconciliation process. They run this people's economic empowerment program by organizing groups of women. Each group comprises some 15 to 20 women and some of the groups have mixed religions. For Sofifi, this programme covers six villages, 13 villages in Sahu and eight villages in Bacan.

sufficient to finance the rebuilding of homes or meet their children's educational and other needs.

3.6 Women as Workers

Employment in the formal sector was affected by the outbreak of conflict in Poso and surrounding areas. Many businesses in the formal sector have closed or reduced during and after the conflicts leading to unemployment and fewer opportunities for work in the formal sector. The lack of employment opportunities in the formal sector has forced women to find jobs and other sources of income in the informal sector. In the informal sector, many women work as petty traders, food and vegetables sellers, housekeepers, hired agricultural laborers, restaurant workers, or work in small-scale

home industries, such as brick making, handicraft and furniture. They earn very little money from working in these types of employment. As petty traders for example, they normally earn around Rp. 5,000-15,000 / day. As hired laborers, their income is around Rp.20,000-25,000/day. Since the money they earn from informal employment is inadequate, women have to find other sources of income or other alternative ways to meet their basic daily family needs. They utilize their backyard to grow vegetables and raise animals such as chicken, goats and pigs both for family consumption and earning additional income.

3.7 Women as Decision Makers and Leaders

The conflicts in the Poso areas have to some extent increased women's access to the decision making process either in the family or in the community. The loss of husbands and other male family members and living separately from their husbands has led women to become the primary decision makers in the family. They also often have to be engaged in community activities outside the house which gives them greater opportunities to be involved in community decision making processes, such as attending village meetings and involvement in decision making processes concerning the reconstruction of their home villages.

The conflicts have affected men's mobility to earn income outside the home. As a result women are the ones who have to take responsibility for earning money. For the women who live with their husbands, the opportunity to earn income for the family has provided them with a greater access to decision making on family matters. Household decision-making is no longer controlled and dominated by the husbands, but is being consulted and discussed with the women/wives. The economic power that women gain from earning income also often provides them with greater opportunities to make their own decisions without necessarily having to rely on the husband. Husbands are now no longer exclusively the primary decision maker in the family.

For instance, a woman returnee from Malei-Lage related that her economic power has provided her with greater decision-making power in the family. A female IDP from

Kayamanya also confirmed that her ability to earn income for the family has provided her with greater power in making decisions such as on her family's daily expenses and children education. The decision on these issues according to her used to be her husband's "privilege".

The increase of access to participate in the organizations and community activities to some degree also has given some women opportunities to engage in decision-making process. For example, female IDPs coordinators from Kayamanya (Poso City) and from Later (Pamona Utara) reported that their involvement as coordinators of the IDPs has given them a greater opportunity to make decisions regarding the life in the camps. Another example is that the involvement of women as leaders of NGOs and CBOs, and as the heads of the villages or *kelurahan* has also provided women greater access to decision-making.

From the examples above, it is clear that the outbreak of conflict has negatively impacted women's lives, yet in other ways it has also brought positive outcomes in terms of providing women with greater access to the decision making process both in the family and in the community.

4. Organizing for Peace: Women's Organizations and Networks

The outbreak of violent social conflict in the Poso area and North Maluku has encouraged some women to organize and build a network for peace. Even though most of the women's organizations and networks are relatively new and are few in number, they have played important roles in promoting peace-building activities and in advancing the conditions of women. Their activities range from promoting women's rights, building the economic empowerment of women, advocacy and providing and distributing the basic needs of people.

4.1 Women's Organisations

Central Sulawesi

A range of women's organizations and networks have been actively involved in the promotion of peace-building activities and women's empowerment in the Poso area (see Annexes 3 and 4 for further details). Some of these include the 'Central Sulawesi Group of Struggle for Women's Equity' (*Kelompok Perjuangan Kesetaraan Perempuan-Sulawesi Tengah, KPKP-ST*) located in Palu and Poso, Poso Women's Cooperation Forum (*Forum Kerjasama Perempuan Poso, FOKER-PP*), Poso Women's Empowerment Office (*Kantor Pemberdayaan Perempuan Poso*), Central Sulawesi Women and Children's Care Activists Group (*Kelompok Pemerhati Perempuan dan Anak-Sulawesi Tengah, PPA* (Palu), Women's Cooperative (*Koperasi Wanita, KWT*) in Tentena (Pamona Utara), Dorkas Women's Cooperative (*Koperasi Wanita Dorkas, KWD*) in Kawua, An-Nissa and Aisyah Women's Cooperatives (*Koperasi An-Nissa / Koperasi Aisyah*) in Poso.

There are also some other women's organizations in Palu for example, Women's Solidarity (*Solidaritas Perempuan*), Indonesian Women's Coalition (*Koalisi Perempuan Indonesia, KPI*), Women's Studies Center of University of Tadulako, Women's Empowerment Office (*Kantor Pemberdayaan Perempuan*) and Poso Women's Concern Working Group (*Pokja Peduli Perempuan Poso*) in Poso City. However, these

organizations have not been active in conducting their activities related to women and peace building in Poso and surrounding areas, mainly as a result of a lack of financial resources.

In addition to these organizations, there is the Institute for Women's Empowerment (*Lembaga Pemberdayaan Perempuan, LAPAN*) in Poso and Institute for Empowering Civil Society (*Lembaga Pemberdayaan Masyarakat Sipil, LPMS*) in Palu who are also concerned about women, gender and peace-building issues. LPMS, even though its activities are not solely focused on women or gender issues, does have a women's division as part of their organizational structure. LAPAN and LPMS have just recently been established and have not yet started in developing and implementing program activities on women, gender and peace building.

North Maluku

The assessment found relatively few organisations focusing on women in North Maluku. In addition to the organizations mentioned in this section, *Aisyiah* (the women's branch of Muhammadiyah) and the Women's Study Centre of the University of Khairun are active, but it was not possible to meet with them during the assessment. Those worth highlighting here include:

Japersit - In the past, there was a network named *Jaringan Perempuan Cinta Damai (Japersit)*, or Women's Network on Peace. *Japersit* was set up following a USAID-sponsored workshop entitled 'The Optimisation of Women's Roles in Creating Security in Post-conflict North Maluku'. The workshop was attended by twenty-seven women from both religions, coming from various sub-districts, institutions and communities. In this workshop, women discussed and expressed their opinions on the conflict, its root causes, impact on society and particularly on women and the potential and role of women as peace builders. These women called for peace and an end to the war. The workshop was organized by the leaders of the formal women organizations from churches

and *Aisyiah* in North Maluku. Unfortunately, this network did not last long. Some women have expressed their interest in reviving *Japersit* so that women in North Maluku can have a forum, a place for exchanging ideas and as a forum to communicate between Christian and Muslim women.

Yayasan Daurmala - Daurmala stands for *Daulat Perempuan Maluku Utara* (North Maluku Women's Independence), a woman-feminist NGO that strives for women's autonomy, women's and children's rights in North Maluku. It was set up in October 2001 and they have worked with other international organizations including UNICEF on child rights. *Daurmala* believes women in North Maluku still lack power in many spheres of life. *Daurmala* highlights the need for international organizations and westerners to be sensitive to the view in some quarters that westerners are seen as pro-Christian.

Family Welfare Movement (PKK) - The Family Welfare Movement (PKK) has changed its name from *Pembinaan Kesejahteraan Keluarga* to *Pemberdayaan Kesejahteraan Keluarga*. The early name, *Pembinaan*, embodied a sense of guiding and therefore it sounded patronizing. As with *Pemberdayaan*, which means empowerment, PKK has now more of a mandate for enhancing gender equality. The PKK in North Maluku has four working groups (*Pokja*) focusing on (1) awareness raising on law, *Pancasila* and the pattern in raising children and manners, (2) education and traits, (3) economy, communication and cooperative system, and (4) health and environment. It is believed PKK can influence a change in society as PKK advocates changing through the family unit. As long as PKK is involved in decision-making processes at every level, from village consultation meeting to provincial level, it will foster the process of women's empowerment. In the past PKK women were only busy in preparing snacks for village meetings. Now PKK women participate in the village meeting, they make decisions and exchange information about women's needs in PKK meeting. These women have a variety of interests including the provision of clean water, improving health care, learning the skills required for running small businesses and the application of technology in growing cassava.

PKK is the only women's organization that has branches, network and membership everywhere from the national level to the village level.

4.2 Capacities - Challenges and Opportunities

Challenges and Obstacles

As newly established organizations, women's organizations in Central Sulawesi, especially in the Poso District have faced numerous obstacles in conducting their program activities for peace. The major challenges and obstacles include:

- **Insecurity and Intimidation** - The recent killing of some Christian religious leaders and local people along with bomb threats in some areas of Poso highlight the continued insecurity and dangers. Women peace activists have been intimidated and terrorized, receiving physical, mental and sexual threats including death threats. These have caused changes in planned activities and reduced the impact of their peace-building work.
- **Exclusion from Formal Peace Processes** - Women are excluded from the formal political peace process, which is dominated by male political, community and religious leaders. Only a few women, principally religious leaders, participated in the peace accord and other formal political peace activities. The majority of grassroots women peace workers are engaged in 'informal' peace activities such as peace marches, distributing basic needs and financial assistance to the IDPs and returnees and organizing prayer sessions. The participation and the inclusion of women's organizations in the formal political peace process is crucial as they are generally the ones who work with, help and understand people at the grassroots level. As women's organizations are often seen as less threatening, their inclusion in formal peace and politics can foster the process of peace building and reconciliation.
- **Polarization among Women's Organizations** - Women's organizations, networks and activists in Poso seem to be divided and polarized according to their

location, ethnicity and religious backgrounds.¹³ This polarization based on location, ethnicity and religious background has the potential to create new conflicts and mistrust among women's organizations and the people they help.¹⁴ The polarization of women's organizations and networks based on religious background seems to contribute to this because it creates suspicion and mistrust among female IDPs from both communities.

- **Lack of Education, Knowledge and Skills** - The emergence of women in conflict and peace-related issues is a new phenomenon in Poso and surrounding areas. Generally these women have limited education, knowledge, organizational experience and leadership skills. Some women activists, especially in the village level, have only completed primary school and they have received little training to improve their knowledge and skills of peace related issues. A lack of education prevents women's organizations from engaging on constructive development, limits women's access to established networks and will limit women's organizations ability to attract resources from donor agencies. Carefully tailored capacity building and training (e.g. gender, women's rights and human's rights issues, peace education, conflict resolution, negotiation and mediation, group organization, policy advocacy and leadership) should be provided.
- **Lack of Sustainable Financial Resources** - The majority of women's organizations have very limited financial support. Even though some of the women's organizations received funds from local, national and

international donor agencies, generally the financial support gained from donor agencies is small, temporary, and not sufficient to support and maintain the activities of women's organizations and women activists in the long term. A lack of financial resources limits women's ability to organize and establish networks. For example, women often need to attend meetings, group discussions and seminars.

- **Increase in Women's Burden** - Most of the women peace activists in the Poso area are also victims of the conflict. They have lost family members, property and sources of income, yet they need to improve their living conditions has inspired them to become peace activists. Although peace activists, women also have to perform their domestic responsibilities and productive roles to earn income for the family. This double work burden could bring negative consequences on women's health conditions and affect the work of women's organizations and networks in the long run.

Opportunities

Women's organizations have strengths and potential opportunities for conducting peace-related work. These opportunities include:

- **Solidarity Amongst Women** - Experience of the devastating consequences of conflict and on the lives of the people, children, relatives and their own lives has increased the awareness of many women as peace activists. They have the capabilities to respect and help each other and work together in order to promote peace and a better life for their families, communities and themselves. This emerging sense of solidarity among women activists together with the lack of women's representatives in the formal political peace process have led many women activists in the Poso areas to take initiatives to organize, mobilize and strengthen the networks among themselves.
- **Encouragement from NGOs, INGOs and International Donors** - The existence of such agencies has provided more opportunities for women peace activists and organizations to be involved in other activities related to peace-building efforts

¹³ For example, in Poso City, the members of women's organizations and women activists are mostly Moslem and their work tends to be focused on improving the conditions of women in Poso City who are Moslem. The same situation applies to women's organizations and activists who live in Tentena areas. All of them are Christians and their work is aimed mainly at Christian women who live in that area.

¹⁴ For example, in the IDPs camp of Kayamanya in Poso City, all of the IDPs are Moslem. They rejected a credit program offered by a Christian community-based organization to help the female IDPs to generate income.

in the Poso area. It has stimulated many women to establish and/or strengthen formal and informal women's organizations and networks to deliver services and assistance to disadvantaged people. The presence of international donor agencies, NGOs and INGOs working on similar issues would also give women peace activists, women's organizations and networks a better chance to gain the financial aid needed to support and maintain their activities.

- **Recognition of Women's Roles in Peace**

- For many people, women are considered as better peace-builders than men because they are seen as less threatening and more open to informal dialogue between the two communities through their informal daily activities. In addition, their significant contributions in delivering services and assistance to the IDPs and returnees have made women activists and women's organizations gain respect and support from the community. Furthermore, their roles for their families and communities have increased the awareness of the people about the importance of the roles that women can play in promoting peace-building processes and activities. The growing recognition of the importance of women's roles and contribution to the peace-building process and activities significantly provides a better chance for women activists to develop and strengthen their organizations and networks.

- **Recognition of the Importance of Gender Mainstreaming in Peace**

- Even though it is slow, there has been a growing recognition amongst agencies (government, international donor agencies, INGOs and NGOs) in the Poso area of the importance of mainstreaming gender into peace-building related activities. This recognition will bring a positive climate for the development and strengthening of women's organizations and networks. For example, the UNDP has funded the KPKP-ST, a women's organization based in Palu and Poso, as part of the UNDP's efforts in promoting gender mainstreaming and the development of women's organizations and networks in peace building related issues. Women will have a greater opportunity to engage in various activities

related to peace building issues. Thus, it will increase women's opportunity to increase their own capacity building and to develop networks.

4.3 Priority Needs

Women peace activists and women's organizations recognize the critical roles they can play in promoting the peace-building processes. However, they have found that the existing challenges and weaknesses they experience at the individual, organization and community levels to some extent have limited their roles and capacities to fully participate in promoting peace building processes and activities in Poso and surrounding areas. During the assessment process, women's peace activists and organizations expressed a number of needs and priorities in order for them to be able to deal with and overcome the challenges and weaknesses they experience. These priority needs are:

- **Organizational Capacity Building** – This is the top concern expressed by women peace activists, who explained that the lack of formal education, compounded by lack of skills, training, and experiences in peace building related issues, have often limited them in conducting their activities. Women peace activists asserted that a lack of formal education, for example, has often affected their self-confidence in conducting and participating in peace-building related activities. In order to allow them to better engage in peace building processes and activities, the women activists and women's organizations expressed that the capacity of their organizations and their own capacity as peace activists needs to be improved and strengthened. Women peace activists and women's organizations identified a number of skills they need in order to improve their capacity including (a) managerial and leadership skills, (b) group and community organization, (c) fundraising including proposal development skills, (d) networking skills, (e) communication, information and dissemination skills including policy advocacy, campaigning, lobbying, public speaking and presentation, (f) monitoring and evaluation skills, (g) negotiation, mediation and conflict resolution, (h) gender, (i) women's and human's rights,

(j) peace education and (k) women's political participation. In addition, they also asserted the importance of facilitating and promoting women's participation in various forums (such as seminars, workshops and conferences) at local, national and international levels.

formal peace processes and efforts to include women peace activists and/or women's organizations at a grassroots level in their activities.

- **Sustainable Financial Resources and Support** - Many women peace activists and women's organizations use their own personal funds to support their activities. In fact, even though they work as peace activists, most of them are also IDPs or returnees. Like most other IDPs and returnees in the Poso areas, these women peace activists also suffer from financial difficulties due to deteriorating conditions as a result of the conflict. They expressed that they often found it difficult to conduct or to participate in peace building related issues, as they did not have enough money to support their activities. Though they acknowledge support from funding organizations they felt that the money received from donor agencies is often small, irregular and short-term. Women peace activists and women's organizations asserted that in order to effectively conduct and maintain their activities in the long run they need support from donor agencies in terms of providing them with long-term sustainable financial support.
- **Women's Participation in Formal Peace Processes** - As peace activists, women are still generally overlooked and underrepresented in the formal political peace process and activities. Due to their "invisible" position in the formal peace process, the work that women peace activists and their organizations do at a grassroots level is often seen as not as important to what other peace agencies do. As a result, women peace activists and women's organization often receive inadequate support from the government and other governing organizations. Therefore, the women peace activists and women's organizations stated that promoting women's participation in the formal peace processes and activities is crucial. They suggested that the promotion of women's participation at this level could be done through affirmative action that requires every agency involved in the

5. Conclusions and Recommendations - A Framework for Support

5.1 Main Findings and Conclusions

The conclusions described in this report are based on several key findings gained from the assessment. These conclusions include issues related to the impact of conflict on women and men, the roles and experience of women as victims and actors in the conflict and the unstable situations in Poso and surrounding areas, women's organizations and networks including the challenges and opportunities they have faced, as well as their needs and priorities. These conclusions are the fundamental outline for the recommendations proposed and are summarized below:

- *Gender Division of Labour:* The gender division of labor has changed - men are no longer exclusively perceived as the primary income earner, and women and children are also generating income for the family due to poverty and a lack of men's mobility.
- *Women in the Community:* Women's role in the community has increased as well as their role in decision making at the family and community levels. This has brought an increase in women's self-esteem and confidence but also an increasing work burden.
- *Livelihoods and Employment:* Conflict has caused a large number of women and men to lose their jobs and access to key livelihood assets (e.g. cultivated land and farms) leading to declines in incomes of between 50-75% and food insecurity
- *School Drop Outs:* Many children, both girls and boys, have dropped out of schools as a result of the fall in family incomes, displacement and lack of school and other educational facilities and services
- *Health:* Women's and men's health has deteriorated and there remains a lack of effective health facilities, services and infrastructure (including water, sanitation and poor living conditions). Women's reproductive health has also deteriorated due to lack of services, increase in birth control prices and changes in sexual behavior among youths. Premarital sex, early marriages, unwanted pregnancies and unsafe abortions have become more prevalent.
- *Trauma:* Economic stresses and the direct experience of or witnessing dreadful violence has caused many women and men to suffer from severe trauma and psychological stress, which has led many young men to use alcohol and drugs.
- *Politics and Gender:* Politics is still dominated by the male elites, including male community and religious leaders. However, women's participation has gradually increased, especially in the village political arena, where some women have become heads of villages and members village councils (BPD). The involvement of women in peace activism seems to play a significant role in contributing to the increase of women's access to local political positions.
- *Security and Gender:* Although security in Poso and surrounding areas has improved, there are gender differences in how women and men perceive the presence of the police and military. Men are generally supportive of the presence of the police and military in their areas, and feel more secure and safe. Women, however, would like the number of police and military personnel to be reduced.
- *Women as Victims of Conflict:* Women have experienced various types of violence from physical, emotional to sexual violence, occurring either in their house, in the camps or in public spaces. Domestic violence (wife battering, sexual humiliation and harassment) and sexual violence (rape, sexual humiliation and harassment) are the most common forms of violence experienced by women. Female children are also vulnerable to incest. Some contributing factors to these problems among others are economic pressures, inadequate and poor living conditions, stress, increased use of alcohol

and drugs, sexual frustration, and “unsatisfied” sexual relationships. Younger women (known as *Koramil / SSB*) having had premarital sex with members of the security forces have experienced unwanted pregnancies leading to them becoming single parents or having unsafe and/or forced abortions. As IDPs and returnees, women generally still live in vulnerable situations with serious problems concerning the lack of sources of livelihood, jobs and income, housing facilities, food insecurity, health, water and sanitation, including access to health services and facilities, and education for children.

- *Women as Actors:* Women are not merely passive victims, but also are important agents and actors in the peace building processes in the Poso areas. As agents or actors, women have played significant roles in terms of being peace activists and community leaders, coping and surviving actors, breadwinners and decision makers. *As peace activists and community leaders,* women have played a variety of roles and have been engaged in various activities, yet their roles and participation tends to be ‘invisible’ in the context of the formal peace-building processes. Most peace-building activities conducted and initiated by women peace activists and community leaders have been carried out outside of the official and formal peace-building mechanism.
- *Role of Government and Agencies:* The government, humanitarian agencies, NGOs, and INGOs have played a significant role in helping IDPs and returnees and their families, but they are often unable to meet the needs of all the population due limited resources and outreach. Poor coordination among intervening agencies and the widespread corruption of the program assistance for the IDPs and returnees conducted by the intervening agencies has caused already limited resources to be wasted.
- *Women’s Organizations and Networks:* Women’s organizations and networks in the Poso area are relatively new but have gradually increased in size and scope. Their activities range from promoting

women’s rights, building economic empowerment of women, advocacy, community organizing, and providing and distributing the basic needs of the people, IDPs and returnees, etc. They present a range of weaknesses and challenges that organizations outside of the regions can help them to overcome as part of their organizational development. In particular, there are many strengths and opportunities including an increasing sense of solidarity among women peace activists, organizations and networks that is accompanied by a growing recognition of the importance of women’s roles in peace-building.

5.2 Key Recommendations

Women have experienced and taken on various and different roles in response to the outbreak of conflict and the on-going unstable situations in Poso and surrounding areas. In general, their experiences and roles can be seen in two ways: 1) as victims; and 2) as actors or agents of peace and/or conflict. Accordingly the UNDP should examine and consider these two main roles and experiences as fundamental approaches and foundations for the promotion of women’s peace building programs in the Poso areas. Based on the roles and experiences of women as victims and as peace agents, the recommendations focus on six main areas of intervention:

- Women’s economic empowerment
- Women’s participation in the formal peace processes
- Women’s capacity building
- Gender awareness raising
- Women’s human rights and violence against women
- Gender disaggregated data.

Others areas such as education for children, health, water and sanitation conditions although important issues, are not included in these recommendations. It is assumed that these six areas of intervention will significantly bring positive impacts on the improvement of all aspects of life. By concentrating on these six areas of intervention, especially improving women’s economic opportunities will eventually improve other critical areas such as children’s education, health, water and

sanitation. Although issues related to children education, health, water and sanitation are not specifically included in these recommendations. UNDP could, if necessary, take these issues into consideration for future planning and interventions.

1) Empowering women's economic activities as a means of economic rehabilitation

As the assessment indicated, in Poso and surrounding areas women play a significant role as surviving actors especially in terms of augmenting income for their families during the post-conflict. Men's access to generate income has been reduced dramatically as their mobility to engage in economic productivity outside their homes has been severely affected by the outbreak of conflict and the on-going unstable situations. In addition, many women have been forced to become the only income earner in the family due to the displacement and the loss of husbands and other male family members during the escalation of the conflict. The economic life of the family now has become heavily reliant on the economic activities conducted by women around and outside the homes.

As income earners, however, women have very limited access to opportunities to generate income. This is particularly due to the lack of formal and non-formal education and skills related to economic activities outside of farming. This is compounded by the lack of job opportunities in the formal economy in the Poso areas in general. As a result many women in the Poso areas are engaged in the informal economic sector and in small-scale business enterprises and petty trading. Though they are engaged in the informal economic sector and their income is very low, the work that women do in this activity is very crucial, not only in terms of a means for family survival, but also in terms of facilitating "natural" grassroots social cohesion and reconciliation processes between Moslems and Christian communities. Through their petty trading activities, such as selling vegetables, foods, snacks in the market, making handicrafts, working at restaurants or as housekeepers, women - Moslem and Christian - interact with each other regardless of what religion they belong to.

Women's activities in the informal sector indeed lay the foundation for reconciliation and peace-building process in the Poso areas. In order to assist people in recovering their economic life and to promote peace-building processes in the Poso area, UNDP should utilize and promote women's economic activities as the main entry point for women's peace building programs.

To help women generate income, UNDP could utilize various approaches. These approaches include creating small-scale business enterprises for women, providing business training, seed grants and micro-credit program interventions. Helping women with marketing channels to sell their products in local, regional and national markets is also another action that should be taken into consideration. UNDP could also help in creating new women's cooperatives or strengthening existing women's cooperatives such as the Christian women's cooperative of "Dorkas", Moslem women's cooperative of An-Nissa and women's farmers cooperative in Tentena.

Women from Moslem and Christian communities should be involved in these income generating activities. This step is important in order to avoid creating further envy and suspicion that could ignite the conflict again. From Moslem women communities, women headed-households/widows from Kilo-9 who now live in the Poso City areas should be given a priority because they are generally the main providers for their family. Female Moslem returnees from Ronononcu-Poso Pesisir, who are generally involved in furniture, handicraft and other ebony wood carving activities, could also be targeted as the beneficiaries of this activity. From Christian communities, female petty traders in Tentena and surrounding areas including those who live in Later, Posunga and Palapa IDPs camps could be the beneficiaries of these income generating activities for women. Christian female returnees from Korondoda, Gandalari and Buyun Taripa in Tojo district who now are generally engaged as petty traders are also potential beneficiaries for this activity. The work conducted by women in these areas (Poso City, Ronononcu-Poso Pesisir, Tentena areas and Korondoda, Gandalari and Buyun Taripa-Tojo) all involve

interaction between Christian and Moslem communities and has great potential for peace and reconciliation. Thus, targeting women in these areas can have a positive impact on peace.

However, further consultation with potential women beneficiaries is crucial to determine what type of income generation activities and interventions suit their needs most. UNDP (if possible) should avoid interventions that can potentially reinforce the traditional gender-stereotyped activities, such as sewing, cooking and knitting. UNDP also should avoid “welfare-oriented income generation interventions” that only offer an immediate and short-term impact on women. The intervention should offer sustainable and long-term impact on women and could also be combined with trauma counseling and gender awareness raising regarding women’s rights on labor issues and other peace related issues.

2) Promoting Women’s Participation in Formal Peace Process

Women are still marginalized and poorly represented in the formal peace processes. Thus, promoting women and/or their organizations and groups in the formal peace process is imperative. In this context, the inclusion of women in the formal peace processes should be promoted through:

- **Affirmative Action** - the adoption of at least 30 % affirmative action for women as a strategy to increase women’s participation in the formal peace processes at all levels. This affirmative action policy should be applied to all programmatic responses by UNDP and its implementing agencies. Since women are generally not familiar with formal debate, dialogue and discussion due to their marginal position in the decision-making and formal peace processes, an affirmative action policy should be accompanied by efforts in strengthening women’s capacity building. This would help women to have a greater opportunity to be involved in the formal peace processes.
- **Utilizing the media as a means of promoting women’s participation** - in addition to the affirmative action policy, UNDP could also use media (e.g. radio,

bulletins/newsletters) to promote women’s participation in the formal peace processes. Although the use of media will not have an immediate impact on the promotion of women’s participation, it is a powerful means to increase the awareness of people on the importance of women’s roles and participation in the formal peace processes. UNDP, in this case should consider the establishment of a women’s radio station or programs, bulletins, or newsletters to present and disseminate objective information concerning women’s roles, activities and experiences in peace-building related issues. If the establishment of women’s radio station is not possible, UNDP, in collaboration with local radio stations could also initiate a special women program on local radio stations. “*Bhayangkara*”, a police radio station would be a possible partner for this matter. “*Bhayangkara*” is the main and the most popular local radio station in the Poso areas and has a quite wide geographic coverage and audience.

3) Building the capacity of women peace activists and women’s organizations

The assessment clearly indicates that one of the biggest weaknesses and challenges that are faced by women peace activists and women’s organizations in conducting their activities is a lack of knowledge, skills, training and experience in gender and peace building related issues.

Therefore, supporting women’s capacity building is one of the most critical areas that needs to be supported by the UNDP in order to promote women’s roles and participation in peace-building processes in Poso and surrounding areas. UNDP has recently started this initiative by supporting KPKP-ST-one of the leading women’s organizations in Palu and Poso areas to conduct their activities in community organizing and at the same time helping the KPKP-ST to build their own capacity. Support given to the KPKP-ST is a good starting point and a means for strengthening women peace activities and networks in the Poso area. For future efforts, however UNDP also needs to offer long-term support that covers a wide range of activities

and reaches a wide range of women activist and women organizations in the Poso area.

Women's capacity building initiatives should take two forms (i) at an individual level and (ii) at organizational level.

At an **individual level**, UNDP should increase women's knowledge, skills and experience in gender, conflict and peace related issues. Knowledge and skills that need to be improved include:

- Gender analysis; women's rights, and human rights issues;
- Managerial and leadership skills;
- Group and community organization;
- Fundraising and proposal writing skills;
- Networking skills;
- Communication, information and dissemination,
- Campaign, public speaking and presentation skills;
- Lobbying, negotiation and mediation training;
- Conflict management and resolution, and peace education;
- Policy advocacy;
- Program/project design, monitoring and evaluation.

This effort can be accomplished by facilitating and supporting women's access and participation in various forums, such as training, workshops, conferences, seminars, group discussions and other activities at local, national and international levels (if possible). By supporting women's access and participation in these forums, UNDP will not only assist women peace activists in improving their knowledge, skills and experiences, but will also assist women in developing and strengthening their networks with other women peace activists and women's organizations working on similar issues within and outside of the Poso area.

In addition, some of women peace activists are university graduated. Thus, UNDP (if possible) could also provide women peace activists with graduate scholarship assistance to help women pursue higher education in the field of women/gender, conflict and peace related issues. The UNFPA offered graduate scholarship assistance to female activists as part of the UNFPA's program in strengthening women's studies center in some parts of

Indonesia. UNDP perhaps could also initiate similar effort as a means of building the capacity of women peace activists in Central Sulawesi, particularly in the Poso areas.

At an **organizational level**, UNDP should provide women's organizations with sufficient long-term, sustainable technical and financial support. This support will help women peace activists to conduct and maintain their organizational activities in a wider scope and in the long term.

In addition to the KPKP-ST, there are some other women's groups and organizations that UNDP could possibly assist in strengthening their capacities. These groups have quite strong connections with poor women, especially in the village areas. They have taken on different roles and have been active in helping women at the grassroots level and in promoting peace-building process in the Poso areas. These women's groups and organizations however, have very limited access to reach all women and maintain their activities, particularly due to the lack of sustainable financial sources and support. These groups include:

- **KPPA-Sulteng**: an NGO, based in Palu City, whose activities focuses on improving the quality of life of women and children. The target groups of the KPPA activities are: women in the informal economy (women petty traders and/or women small-scale entrepreneurs), IDPs, women in coastal areas, female farmers, housewives and female youth.
- **Koperasi Wanita "Dorkas"/KWD**: a Christian women's-based saving-loan group, located in Kawua, Poso district. "Dorkas" manages women's saving-loan activities for both female Christians and Moslems who are engaged in economic productive activities in or near Poso city. Dorkas also helps in meeting the basic needs of female elderly IDPs and children with disabilities who live in Kawua.
- **Koperasi An-Nissa**: a Moslem women-based cooperative, initiated by Moslem women of Alchairaat, Nahdatul Ulama/NU; and Fatayat-Nahdatul Ulama. An-Nissa cooperative organizes saving-loan activities only for Moslem women. Its geographical reach is in district, sub-

districts and villages, in the Poso areas, and has strong base in the village areas.

- **Koperasi Wanita Tani/KWT:** a women farmer's cooperative, located in Tentana-Pamona Utara. "KWT" organizes saving-loan activities for female farmers and other women who are engaged in economic productive activities in Tentana and Pamona Kelurahan-urban village.
- **Koperasi Aisyah:** a Muhammadiyah Moslem women's saving-loan group, located in Poso city. Its activities focus only on Moslem women.

The women's capacity building initiatives should not be solely focused on women peace activists and women's organizations at provincial and district levels. It is crucial that women peace activists and women's organizations at the village level, including female coordinators of IDPs in the IDPs camps and returnees in the original places should also be targeted. This is particularly important because within the village women peace activists are normally also IDPs or returnees themselves by no choice. Thus, by targeting the women peace activists in the village, UNDP will also contribute to the advancement of the status and condition of female IDPs and returnees in the Poso areas.

Strengthening the capacities of women peace activists and their organizations would be the catalyst for the promotion of women's access and participation in the formal peace and public decision making processes. Overall, it will bring a long-term impact for the emergence of gender equality in all aspects of life.

4) Promoting Gender Awareness

The promotion of women's peace building programs will not be successful when decision-making systems and mechanisms are still dominated by men. It will also not be successful if the women themselves still support the existing gender norms and practices and are not aware of their rights.

Thus, along with other initiatives it is important that the UNDP also promote gender awareness raising activities as part of the UNDP's peace-building program for women. This gender awareness raising can be conducted through various different activities,

which include a series of workshops, training, seminars, group discussions, and multi media campaigns.

While the assessment was being carried out there was great demand from government agencies, INGOs, NGOs, police office, Provincial and District Office of Women's Empowerment for gender awareness raising activities. Accordingly, UNDP should consider and respond to this positive demand as another critical entry point for promoting women's peace-building programs.

All agencies involved in the peace-building processes and activities should become the target of this gender awareness raising. The main target of this activity should be women and men at all levels, from decision makers to field workers, from government to non-government organizations, and from community leaders to religious leaders. The members of parliament at provincial and district level should also be targeted. This is especially important because increasing the awareness of members of parliament will bring significant implications for the increase in government's budget allocation for women's activities in Poso and surrounding areas. The police and other criminal justice systems should also be gender sensitized. In addition, the UNDP staff needs to be sensitized to gender related issues.

The issues covered in this gender awareness raising could be various depending upon the needs and the focus areas of each agency, as well as the level of knowledge and awareness of each agency regarding gender related issues.

5) Tackling Domestic and Sexual gender-based Violence and Promoting women's human rights

Domestic and sexual gender-based violence is one of the most prevailing problems faced by women as a result of the conflict in the Poso areas. Though, there is no exact data concerning this problem, the assessment indicates that the magnitude has increased. Domestic and sexual violence against women violates a number of human's rights principles and is a violation of women's human rights. Women will not be able to fully participate in and benefit from the peace-building activities if

they live in fear and danger. Thus, UNDP should consider the promotion of women's human rights as part of the integrated women's peace building program.

Domestic and sexual gender-based violence is a complex issue. Tackling this problem requires multiple actions and serious efforts from multiple and various actors and agencies. Men especially should be one of the main actors that need to take part in tackling this problem.

There are various different ways of promoting women's human rights that can be utilized by UNDP in assisting women to address the problems of domestic and sexual gender-based violence. These efforts among others are:

- **Public awareness raising campaign on women's human right issues:** is particularly important to transform social norms, public attitudes and behavior regarding any forms of violence against women. Issues related to women's reproductive rights should also be included as one of the main topics in this public awareness raising campaign. This public awareness raising should be targeted at a wide range of the population: women, men, youth and children, religious groups, community leaders, health workers, police, military and other criminal justice systems, government agencies, NGOs, INGOs, and others. Special attention should also be given to those who live in IDPs camps and in new resettlement places as women who live in these areas are generally the most vulnerable to domestic and sexual violence. There are various methods that can be used for public awareness campaigns. These include the utilization of radio campaigns, seminars, group discussions, stickers, dramas, songs, training workshops and other activities.
- **Training on women's human rights and how to respond to the needs of the women victims/survivors:** the public awareness campaign should be supported by training on women's human rights, violence against women including women's reproductive rights and how to help and respond to the needs of women victims/survivors. This training is aimed specifically at health workers, police and

military, legal staff, community and religious groups/leaders, IDPs and returnees coordinators and staff at the Office of Women's Empowerment and other relevant agencies. Considering the prevalence of "Koramil" and "SSB", awareness raising and training for police and military staff in this issue is especially important. The District Police Office in Poso city has no female police staff; training on violence against women will help to make the male police staff become more gender sensitive in tackling the problem.

- **Women's and men's support groups:** UNDP could establish women's and men's support groups to help in monitoring, documenting and reporting the incidents of domestic and sexual gender based violence and also to act as counselors. The establishment of men's support group is particularly important to help in changing men's perceptions and attitudes toward violence against women. The participation of male community and religious leaders in these men's support groups is also especially crucial. This is because as leaders they can act as role models and have great potential and power to change the perceptions and behavior of other men from the respect they have in the community. These women's and men's support groups should be supported with technical and financial assistance along with training and skills on violence against women related issues.
- **Safe houses/shelters:** UNDP also could support the establishment of safe houses/shelters for women victims. These safe houses/shelters could help to protect women's victims from any further abusive acts they might receive. These safe houses/shelters can be run by collaborating with the local NGOs, District Office of Women's Empowerment, religious organizations (*Aisyah, Al-Khairat, Komisi Wanita Gereja-GKST* and *Crisis Center-Tentena*) and other organizations who are concerned with issues related to violence against women.
- **Social, recreational and religious/spiritual activities:** one of the contributing factors to domestic and sexual

violence against women is the psychological related stress, alcoholism, and drug use due to the deteriorating living conditions. Promoting social and recreational including religious and spiritual activities would help in reducing all these problems. Accordingly, it will minimize or reduce the incidents of domestic and sexual violence against women. Therefore it is important that UNDP also support these activities.

There are many women's organization/NGOs that can assist UNDP in conducting activities regarding issues related to women's human rights and violence against women. At the local level, KPKP-ST has paid great attention to this issue. Other agencies are the Office of Women's Empowerment at provincial and district levels. In Palu City, the Provincial Police Office (POLDA) has a women's desk "*Ruang Perawatan Khusus*" (RPK) to help in handling cases related to violence against women. This women's desk is facilitated by policewomen.

At the national level *Komnas Perempuan, LBH APIK, Kalyanamitra* have done a lot of work on problems relating to violence against women. Kalyanamitra was also conducting a preliminary assessment in Poso areas when this assessment was carried out.

6) Providing support to establish gender-disaggregated data

One of the obstacles in carrying out the assessment was that a lack of gender disaggregated data on the current situation in Poso and surrounding areas. In fact, this data is vital for designing, planning, and implementing future developments. Several agencies have collected information regarding the current situation in Poso and surrounding areas. However, this data generally remains an approximation and varies from one agency to another and has very limited scope, depending upon the focus and interest of the agencies. On top of this, the data are generally not disaggregated by sex. Thus, it is impossible to see the gender disparity between the conditions of women and men as a result of the conflict.

Given this concern, therefore, promoting and supporting the establishment of gender disaggregated data on the socio-economic and

demographic characteristic of the people affected and non-affected by the conflict in Central Sulawesi, especially in the Poso District is another critical area that needs to be given particular attention by the UNDP.

Nationally, generating gender-disaggregated data is part of the Indonesian gender mainstreaming policies sponsored by the Ministry for Women's Empowerment in Indonesia. However, the implementation of this policy at provincial and district levels is dependent upon the budget allocated by the provincial and district government agencies (i.e. BAPPEDA, Central Bureau of Statistic/"*Badan Pusat Statistik*"-BPS, and the Women's Empowerment Office in the province or district) in each region.

Thus, UNDP in close cooperation with the government agencies such as BPS, State Ministry for Women's Empowerment, the Office of Women's Empowerment at provincial and district level, BAPPEDA and Women's Studies Center could assist in developing and establishing the gender disaggregated data on this issue. The availability of this data will be a great help in not only planning and implementation of programs and projects related to peace-building efforts, but also for planning and implementation of other development efforts in Central Sulawesi, particularly in the Poso District.